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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Weaver Pangburn writing in this issue of the REVIEW upon tendencies in public recreation states that although originally a child's movement, public recreation today serves almost as many adults as youngsters. A study of a group of middle-west cities last year showed that of those who took advantage of public recreation facilities in Detroit, 46 per cent were adults; in Milwaukee 60 per cent were adults; and in Duluth during the winter the proportion was 75 per cent but during the rest of the year 90 per cent were adults. Public golf is now played in 188 cities. Municipal tennis courts to the number of 6,110 were found in 474 cities in 1925.

As the number of hours in the workingman's day decrease, the problem of suitable recreation increases. Opponents of the eight-hour day used to argue that the leisure time resulting from the shorter day would be wasted if not more seriously abused. The truth seems to be, however, that adults are willing and anxious to spend their free moments in sensible and healthful recreation.

The Survey is trying to find out more about how grown-ups spend their play-time. To this end it is offering three prizes aggregating \$400 for the three best essays on the subject. Delivery of manuscripts must be made not later than September 30.

St. Louis' Success-
ful Municipal Opera

We had read of the St. Louis municipal theatre. We understood that it was a community project, built in the first instance by private underwriting and contributions from the city in the form of land and labor, but we never got the feel of it until we saw it and heard a finished cast in a creditable performance.

St. Louisans have a right to be proud of their venture. Placed in a natural amphitheater and with a seating capacity of 10,000, the structure now represents an investment of almost \$350,000, most of it earnings ploughed back into the plant. It reflects a community spirit at once adventurous and aesthetic. It is no less a success as a business, than as an artistic, venture. Light opera is the usual diet but there is one week of grand opera each season. The principals are Broadway professionals but the chorus of one hundred are local boys and girls selected in competitions and carefully trained throughout the winter. Each year musical scholarships are awarded to a few of the best to enable them to enjoy advanced study. The stage settings are complete and beautiful; the costumes elaborate.

The stage is enormous and studded with trees. Two large oaks, one at either side, define the proscenium arch. (By the way, these oaks are heavily

insured.) The trees give the stage perspective, the illusion of space is complete. Lights thrown against the background of trees give colorific effects much appreciated by the audience, but, which to us, seemed out of keeping with the natural beauty of the scene. A symphony orchestra of eighty assists.

That the theatre is popular is evidenced by capacity audiences each night. There is some criticism because greater attention is not paid to the more serious operas, but the backers are proud that the undertaking carries itself with a profit each year to invest in further permanent improvements; and the present management considers that one week of grand opera a season is all that the enterprise will sustain.

The next time you are in St. Louis between June and September do not fail to spend an evening at the municipal opera. It may give you some ideas for your home town. And remember that it is well to buy your ticket a few days in advance.

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Interest in Governmental Budgeting Increasing The writer recently visited a number of state, city and county governments and talked with financial officers on the planning and control of governmental finances. In practically every case he noted an increased interest in this field. Financial officers are, as a general rule, eager to learn of the latest methods that are being used in budget making and budgetary control in other governmental units.

This fact is apparent from the attendance at the National Municipal League's budget conference, held at the Bar Association in New York City. Invitations were issued to budget and financial officers of state and local governments and to a few other persons interested in the technique of

public budgeting, totaling 21 in all. Of those invited, 15 attended the conference. These were as follows: J. H. Bradford, state director of the budget, Virginia; E. H. Conarroe, chief of the budget bureau, Pennsylvania department of state and finance; William E. Curran, city budget director of Detroit; Charles E. Fox, city budget commissioner of Boston; Mark Graves, state tax commissioner of New York; Luther Gulick, director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research; Clyde L. King, secretary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania; J. O. McCusker, state budget accountant, Maryland; A. Everett Peterson, Columbia University; Fred W. Powell, Institute for Government Research, Washington, D. C.; Carl A. Raymond, state deputy budget commissioner, Massachusetts; C. E. Rightor, chief accountant, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; and Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Needless to say the secretary of the League and the writer were both present.

The first day of the conference was devoted to a discussion of budget documents, forms and information; the second day to budgetary procedure and control. The discussion followed a program which had been previously prepared and was more or less general in its nature. In the course of the conference many questions came up which could not be answered satisfactorily at that time.

It is proposed to have another conference some time next year at which some of these questions can be discussed at length. In the meantime, the REVIEW expects to carry some articles on different phases of budget making and budgetary control. The control end of budgeting has so far been largely overlooked in many governmental units, but it is beginning to

assume an important place in public administration. Certain devices of budgetary control, such as work programs and allotments, may therefore be profitably discussed in the REVIEW.

A. E. B.

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The Primary or
Convention
—Which?

Mr. Fesler, writing
in this issue upon the
"Primary or Con-

vention—Which?" comes to the conclusion that neither has worked well and that the solution lies in recognizing the merits of both. His proposal follows in general the plan for the direct primary presented by Mr. Hughes in his presidential address before the National Municipal League in Indianapolis. Restore the convention, which is the normal method by which organizations act and which helps to locate responsibility; keep the primary as a ready instrument of appeal from the decisions of the convention. Often the convention will function in a manner satisfactory to the rank and file of the party; when it doesn't, make use of the direct primary by which the party electorate can challenge and reverse the decision of the leaders.

Disheartening revelations in Pennsylvania and Illinois emphasize the level to which the primary can fall. Its critics have for years pointed out that it places the poor man at a big disadvantage but in castigating the direct primary don't let us be forgetful of the faults of the old convention. In theory the convention was perfectly democratic and responsible; in practice it was the contrary. Its leaders, working in secret and capitalizing their practical knowledge of mob psychology, were able to do as they would with the party.

We hear a great deal about the cost of the primary, but we ought to remember that the convention system was often expensive although no statement

of expenditures was filed for public information. The convention put a premium upon the purchase of or undue influence upon delegates. We remember that Senator LaFollette, in the days when he was merely a reformer and before he had been damned as a Bolshevik, used to tell how a corrupt machine purchased his pledged delegates and how much they had to pay for them.

On the other hand, the primary also admits of the corrupt use of money and may tend to destroy party responsibility. Those who live in the east where the primary has made few inroads upon party responsibility may not appreciate how serious may become political conditions if such responsibility is absent. We are committed to party government, we want party leaders to be responsible and if they are to be responsible they must be given power; but their position must not be allowed to become impregnable.

The Hughes plan, as well as Mr. Fesler's proposal, recognizes both sides of the problem. In this moment of disgust over the excesses of the direct primary let us not heed those who counsel a return to the old convention system. Their theory is beautiful but their purpose may be open to suspicion. We are not sure always that "their intentions are honorable."

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Strike of Municipal
Engineers in Chicago

It has been generally recognized that technical men, especially engineers, employed by city governments, have not been as well treated in salary increases as other groups of municipal employees. Their number is comparatively small, they have no political influence, and professional etiquette has discouraged their organization as a trade union. But discontent among them has been grow-

ing; and in Chicago it has taken the form of a strike.

In 1925 the Engineering Employees Association petitioned the Chicago city council for an increase, but without avail. Disavowing any intention to strike, the engineers thereupon took a three day "vacation" as a protest. Promises were made at the time to do something in 1926 but when the new budget was passed no salary increases were included. Feeling that the city government had broken its word, the engineers began preparation for more radical measures by joining Local 14 of the Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union, which is affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is claimed that 99 per cent of the city employees in the engineer's grades are now members of the union.

It is the custom in Chicago to pass a supplementary appropriation each year but this must be done by July first. When, late in June, it was clear that the supplemental budget, being framed by the city council, would make no provision for the engineers, the union went on strike. When the strike had continued for one day, the council yielded and appropriated \$75,000 for salary adjustments for engineers and others. A firm has been employed to make recommendations concerning salary rates for the technical employees and some satisfactory compromise between the city and the engineers will doubtless be found.

The extent to which the unorganized professional men have suffered through inadequate salary adjustments during the changing price level was set forth by William C. Beyer in a supplement to the March REVIEW. In twelve principal cities, the wages of unskilled labor have advanced 97 per cent beyond the level of 1915; patrolmen 71 per cent; firemen 70 per cent. In these same cities the salaries of engineers have increased only 41 per cent, bacteriologists 35 per cent and chemists only 50 per cent. The salaries of department heads and principal executives also lagged behind the general groups.

The Engineering News-Record believes that the Chicago strike has been a serious blow to the engineering profession from which it will take years to recover. Undoubtedly it is important that our municipal engineers, as well as other technical workers, be men of professional instincts and standards. It is probable that a strike tends to destroy their professional *esprit*; but much more destructive is a situation which creates a strike atmosphere. For such an atmosphere the Chicago authorities cannot escape responsibility and it is time that all cities pay attention to the salaries and working conditions of their scientific workers. Between trade union organization with possible strikes and recourse to political activity and chicanery, the choice lies with the former. Neither should be necessary.

NEW YORK CITY'S EXPANDING GOVERNMENT

SOME THOUGHTS FOR MAYOR WALKER'S SURVEY COMMITTEE

BY R. FULTON CUTTING

The cost of government of the nation's largest city has increased fourfold in twenty years. Some changes in organization needed.

THE government of New York City must be thought of as a living and growing entity. This fact is emphasized by the changes that take place from year to year in the work which the city has to handle, in the number of school teachers, policemen, and other employees to whom this work is entrusted, and also by the growing costs of government. In the last twenty years the cost of government has increased from \$117,000,000 to \$437,000,000. This has been accompanied by an increase in the city's supplementary revenues and by a large increase in assessed values. The assessment roll has risen from approximately six billion to thirteen billion dollars. In the meantime, the number of children in the schools has increased from 506,000 to 910,000, or 81 per cent; the number of teachers from 16,000 to 32,000, or 100 per cent; the number of policemen from 8,700 to almost 15,000, or 70 per cent; and the grand total of all municipal employees has grown from some 68,000 to 116,000. During this period the population has increased from four to six millions, or 50 per cent.

It is clear, therefore, that the government of the city is growing in size and expense not alone because of the growth of the population of the city, but also because of the higher standard of government which is demanded, and because of the increasing com-

plexity of governmental work. In 1906 there was one city employee for every 59,000 population; in 1926 there is a city servant for every 52,000. This is a relative service increase of 12 per cent. But as a result the city is giving instruction to a greater number of children; the water supply is better; the streets are in an improved condition and are accommodating a vastly increased traffic; the city has more complete physical equipment in bridges, pavements, parks and buildings; it has inaugurated extensive rapid transit facilities which serve to decentralize our population; the death rate is lower and the inhabitants live in a healthier and better regulated environment. As a result of a developed sense of moral responsibility and an emerging ethical consciousness, there is an increasing solicitude on the part of the community for the welfare of all its members. Can we not assert that we have a better city, not alone on the physical and economic side but also on the immaterial side as well?

THE CHANGING MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

There has been a gradual growth and adaptation of the machinery of the city government to meet these changing conditions. Many old bureaus have been expanded, such as, the traffic squad in the police department; new bureaus have been created like

the bureau of child hygiene; new departments have been set up such as the board of transportation; new administrative offices have been instituted such as the budget director and the director of purchase; and the office of assistant to the mayor has been created. Through these changes, the framework of the city government has been adapted to meet new conditions.

PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

The organization chart¹ published by the National Institute of Public Administration, shows the present scheme of city, borough, and county government within Greater New York. Though this chart looks complicated enough already, it must be remembered that there is but one circle or rectangle for each department; the bureaus and other departmental subdivisions are not shown separately.

Those who are familiar with the governmental organization of other large cities, such as Chicago and Philadelphia, will see that the New York city organization has marked superiorities. We have a concentration of authority in the mayor which promotes responsibility and good management, and we have a centralization of purchasing and budget making. At the same time, there are many minor and a few major readjustments which need to be made in the interests of better organization.

SUGGESTED CHANGES

Is it not evident that there are far too many independent boards and departments theoretically under the direction of the mayor? No executive

¹ Published in a brief pamphlet just issued by the National Institute of Public Administration and the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

can meet with so many department heads and consult with them about their departmental and interdepartmental problems so as to keep the affairs of the city running smoothly and the departments keyed up to a high pitch of efficiency. Under our present complex system nobody expects the mayor to pay any attention to a department or board until it has gotten into "hot water" through bungling management or graft, or until the public is all worked up over the situation. In other words, the city's chief executive takes a hand only after the damage has been done. This condition cannot be remedied without simplifying our governmental organization. We need to have fewer and, therefore, more inclusive departments. In other words, we need to apply to New York City the same ideas which have been applied to our state government by Governor Smith and the legislature through the passage of laws drawn by the Hughes Commission.

The relation of borough government to the city as a whole deserves further examination. The present plan was worked out as a compromise in 1897 when the Greater City was formed. Few will deny that it is an essentially wasteful form of organization. Spending officers should never be in a position to authorize expenditures. And yet this is exactly the situation in the board of estimate and apportionment where the borough presidents sit as members of a legislative body. How high would federal expenditures be if we allowed the spending officers of the War and Navy departments to sit in the congress and control appropriation committees? How high would our state taxes be if we placed our state departments of highways and education in a position where they could dictate the size of their own appropriations?

COUNTY GOVERNMENT UNNECESSARY LUXURY

There are still five separate county governments within the single city of New York. This is an unnecessary luxury. The county governments cost the city almost twelve million dollars a year. A considerable part of this sum may be saved by abolishing the five counties and transferring the remaining county functions to the city. This is not a novel or radical proposal. It has already been put into operation in San Francisco, Denver, Washington (D. C.), Baltimore, St. Louis and all of the cities of Virginia, and is partially in effect in Philadelphia, Boston, and a number of other cities.

There is an opportunity also for many minor changes. The office of city chamberlain should certainly be abolished and his duties transferred to the department of finance, as was recommended by an incumbent of that office a dozen years ago. The board of water supply and the department of water, gas and electricity should be consolidated; and all the health agencies should be brought together in a single department. The two tax boards might well be combined, and there is no apparent need for two departments to disagree over transit policy. There are five authorities administering pension systems, and a considerable group of agencies responsible for the investment of endowment funds. A careful survey by experts in administration of the present functions of the city government would unquestionably disclose many other instances of duplication and overlapping work. It is hoped that the Mayor's Survey Committee will study this question in a comprehensive way and that the State Crime Commission will examine the business methods of our city and county courts.

ADVISORY CITIZEN COMMITTEES

The government of New York City is now so complicated that the average citizen does not have the time nor the qualifications to pass on the important questions which are presented to the city for solution. This is an unhealthy condition for democracy. When the voters are uninformed they cannot vote intelligently. If they do become stirred up over some question, they are liable to decide the matter without proper consideration, and to decide it wrong. In our experience thus far, the most satisfactory method of meeting this situation has been the creation of official advisory citizen committees composed partly of experts and partly of laymen. This has been done frequently in the past to solve occasional problems both here in the city and also by the state government. The recent Hughes Commission, which drew the reorganization bills for our state government, was such a group. It has also been tried in Massachusetts and Illinois as a permanent feature of state government with marked success. Not a few cities, and one small town in Westchester county, have found the plan thoroughly workable. It contains some of the best elements of English and German city government as well.

If all of the work of New York City were reorganized under, say, fifteen major departments, would it not be advisable to create for each department at least one advisory citizen committee? The committees would have no power to interfere with the administration. It would be their function to bring to bear on the work and problems of the department both the expert and the lay point of view. They would serve to sift out community sentiment and to interpret to the press and the public, the work and policy of the

department. The responsibility for action would still rest squarely with the administration. It is obvious that a plan of this sort cannot work without broad public co-operation and a highly developed civic spirit. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that these

conditions can now be met in New York City. There are many times over the required number of qualified and disinterested men and women who would be willing to give the necessary amount of time in the service of the city. Is it not an experiment worth trying?

CLEVELAND'S MUNICIPAL AIR PORT

BY JAY MORTON

Commissioner of Information and Complaints, Cleveland

Cleveland expresses her faith in the future of air transportation

LYING at a strategic point in the most direct coast-to-coast air route used by the United States Air Mail, Cleveland has been one of the important stations of this service since its inauguration in 1918. When the first mail plan landed in a makeshift field on the outskirts of the city on a cold September day, the thought of carrying mail through the air as a regular thing, was smiled at. Spring of the following year, however saw the service completed from Chicago, through Cleveland to New York. Business men were taking the service seriously.

The history of the United States Air Mail should be a thrilling chapter of our national story. As much a service of daring pioneers as the pony express, it had the additional handicap of thriving with little or no appropriation and little support aside from the vision of its founders and those who manned its joysticks.

September of 1920 and the first coast-to-coast relay route was completed. Railroads were used to fill unflown gaps until 1924 when mail was carried for the first time from Atlantic to Pacific by planes. With its record of service and low losses better in

proportion than by rail, the Air Mail advanced its schedule. In 1,500 miles of western territory dotted by guide lights it carried the nation's business through the air by night.

Overnight delivery of business correspondence was so valuable that it was apparent it must be extended through Cleveland to New York. Late in 1924 Cleveland found itself the only missing link in the eastern night chain—because it had not an adequate field.

Faced with the possibility of losing the Air Mail Station, Cleveland got busy. Manager Hopkins and the city council found they were on an entirely unchartered path when they surveyed the possibility of a municipally owned field. Some members of the council were at first strongly opposed to the unprecedented scheme. Legal technicians pointed out a multitude of reasons why the city could not do this thing.

SELECTION OF SITE

Problem one was selection of a site. To the layman this was merely a question of finding a large flat field somewhere near Cleveland. Dissension

arose because some could not see why the plot in their favored section was not as suitable as another.

Fortunately, the city manager tackled the matter from the angle of permanence and safety. With the aid of government and individual air experts, he located 1,000 acres of property which these men of the air declared ideal. Numerous sites would have served for the needs of five years or less. Only one was found suitable to the real air port, with a capacity in keeping with the future of air travel.

Major General Mason M. Patrick, chief of the United States Army Air Service was of invaluable assistance. He also assigned Major B. K. Yount and Lieut. W. E. Richards of McCook Field to assist the manager in scouting the vicinity. Both officers made several flights to test various landings. Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker, whose wartime flying record is a matter of history, gave Cleveland the benefit of his experience and enthusiasm.

His judgment backed by that of expert flyers, the manager on his own initiative secured options on practically all of the 1,000 acres. Some seventeen individual tracts were involved. City officials who set out to tie up property for future air fields will realize that Cleveland's representatives accomplished a remarkable feat.

The United States Air Mail signified its intention to lease a section of the field, to locate its eastern division headquarters at this more convenient point. Commercial lines indicated in advance they would be interested in a Cleveland station.

With the site under option the manager presented his entire proposal to the council and the public. Such opposition as arose in the council was based upon contentions that the city would be subsidizing the Air Mail and private industries—that such a de-

velopment was entirely outside the field of municipal activity—that there was no legal way to obtain the property or to hold it, and similar grounds.

Public sentiment was almost unanimous in favor of the project. Newspapers were prompt to see the need. That the city's viewpoint had broadened was indicated by the readiness with which it realized that only by establishing a great port could Cleveland remain a factor in the imminent development of air travel and the industry growing up about it.

City Manager Hopkins in debating for the field brought out that salient point.

"Two things make cities", he said, "Highways and the means for the people to meet and exchange their questions, their ideas or anything else for which they may desire to meet. There never was a great city except upon great highways; there never was a city that did not provide ample space for the people to come and do whatever thing they wanted to do. This city owes its prosperity and distinction to its highways. Until the Ohio Canal came here in 1826, nobody knew whether this town would be a prosperous city or remain a village.

"We have seen in the last twenty years the development of air transportation. We have now in the air the greatest of all highways. Not even for ages can we forecast the possibility of transportation in these unlimited spaces of the air. The only limit upon that development at any particular place is the possibility at that place for aircraft to land, including of course all services which they would naturally need at such a landing or starting place."

Council's first step was adoption of a policy by approval of the city manager's report dated January 28, 1925. In February and March council resolu-

tions declared the city's intention to purchase and directed the manager to exercise his options.

DIFFICULTIES ARISE

The unchartered nature of the road was immediately apparent. Council was without power to appropriate money for the purchase of land for air field purposes. Cleveland representatives in the state legislature helped to pioneer the way by amending sections of the Ohio General Code so that cities might have power to appropriate money for such use. The legality of the amendment was at first questioned, but the council appropriated \$1,125,000.

Once purchases were started difficulties arose over properties upon which options had not been taken before publicity was given to the plan. The optioned areas were taken in at what was held by valuation authorities to be reasonable and fair prices. In connection with the balance another obstruction proved to be lack of council power to condemn land for such a purpose. Again legislative aid was resorted to, and it is now law in Ohio that land may be condemned for airplane landing fields just as for other public needs. The move was fortunate, as it became necessary to enter appropriation proceedings on some 200 acres.

It is significant that today, little more than one year from the formal opening of the field, land values have tremendously increased. The city may face the necessity of paying in the courts a premium on this increase brought about by its own development.

The next problem for which there was no precedent was the making of a lease with the United States Air Mail. How would a city contract with the federal department upon the partial use of a municipally owned air field?

Local lawyers saw complications. Federal authorities had never made such a lease and were not at all certain how it should be done. Cleveland now has what is probably the first such lease, due chiefly to the long legal training of the man who is manager of the city. Legal experts say it is a good model.

The Air Mail immediately dug into the job of aiding the city service department in the task of clearing the property. There was some grading, removal of a knoll here and filling of a hollow there. A few trees were in the way of the first runways. Under the direction of John Berry, field engineer for the government, a remarkable record was established in clearing and grading.

FIELD EQUIPMENT

Three hangars with a capacity of eighteen planes, shops, administration building and night lights were installed. Before the field was ready to use the Air Mail investment was more than \$200,000. A floodlight of 500,000,000 candle power illuminates the field its entire mile in length and width so that every pebble stands out as in daylight. A 3,000,000 C. P. revolving beacon guides pilots to the field by night. Small lights with vertical reflectors outline the landing area and all buildings are bathed in brilliant light to be seen from the air.

Night flying was scheduled to start July 1, and like every other schedule of the Air Mail it was on time. The field was so worked that 2,000 foot runways into all prevailing winds were ready for the formal opening of the Cleveland Airport on the night of July 1, 1925.

Celebration in connection with the formal opening was scaled to the occasion. Starting with a banquet in the vast auditorium at which tables were

set for 3,000 and Army, Navy and Postal officials were guests, it wound up with a night flying circus. Police and newspapers estimated 250,000 persons witnessed the program. More than 100 planes, most of which had some part in the stunts, demonstrated the capacity of even the small portion of the field then in use.

Flights from McCook Field, Dayton; Battle Squadrons from Selfridge Field, Michigan; Army and private planes from many other cities flocked to Cleveland. General Patrick flew over from Dayton and pronounced landing and conditions right. Night flying equipment of every description was demonstrated. Mail arrived and left Cleveland through the darkness for the first time.

Ford Commercial Air Lines inaugurated daily service between Detroit and Cleveland July 1. Negotiations were started and a lease similar to that of the Government was recently made with this first express line. Hangars are now in service and two trips are made daily.

One of the important problems proved to be proper location of leaseholds so as not to interfere with future developments. Both the Mail and Ford hold small areas on the very edge of the property, using the field proper for landing, testing and general approach to their own sections. The city thus retains control of the port.

FUTURE SERVICE

Its major problem after securing the property is that of service to air vehicles. Is it the city's province to maintain a service station directly under a field manager? Should this be let out as a concession? How can it be regulated. These are questions difficult to solve.

Cleveland is now studying the matter of port management, whether it shall

be by commission, as a city department or as its great public auditorium now is managed, by a manager entirely free from departmental interference and entirely responsible for its success.

The question of policing the air will soon be settled. The services of Glenn L. Martin whose plane manufacturing plant is located in Cleveland have been offered. Mr. Martin has offered to place a plane at the disposal of the police department for air regulation and for tracing criminals fleeing by automobile over the highways. As a speeding car can be readily picked out from the air, its position could be flashed to the nearest heading-off point with ease.

The plans of the completed Cleveland Airport provide for runways approximately a mile in all directions in the section now in use. Room is left west of this section for duplicate runways of equal size and mooring masts for the largest lighter-than-air craft. Through the main clearway of both sections can be in the future a runway long enough for the heaviest plane man can build. The entire field has been seeded, and landing or taking off will not be restricted to "alleys."

Interurban electrics run across the front of the field on the main highway. Two railroads are nearby, one within very practical siding and passenger station distances. Busses run to the corner of the property now and may be extended to the loading station when passenger service is established by air.

As the crow flies the field is nine and one-half miles to the public square. By road it is thirty minutes with at least two feasible routes now available. Trains from Union Station to the Airport could conceivably make a ten or twelve minute run, a remarkable feature in view of the future possibilities of air passenger service. Speed, the very essence of air travel is not.

hampered, as on many fields near large cities, by loss of time in reaching the side of the plane.

As it stands now, 750 acres have been purchased by the city. The actual clearing and grading into permanent usable shape is well under way. Leases involving a few thousand square feet on the edge of the field already bring \$3,600 a year for rentals alone. There are further leases in prospect and miles of fringe property to lease without diminishing the vast landing areas. Property values in the vicinity have been greatly increased. Already an additional Air Mail route to Pittsburg is under way, a permanent passenger line is in prospect and industries representing real value have plans soon to be announced affecting

the city. Up to June 30, in just one year of operation, 4,000 planes had landed and taken off from the Cleveland Airport, by actual log.

At least a half dozen cities at this moment are taking steps to acquire a municipal airfield. They will find the way difficult, perhaps, but beyond all question well worth fighting through.

That there is no precedent for this—that the other thing has never been done—that it is looking too far into the future; these are arguments which will sprout in the path of municipal airport development. City executives and public spirited citizens who have the courage to mow down such obstructions and do the thing will undoubtedly place their communities on the front line of progress.

TENDENCIES IN PUBLIC RECREATION

BY WEAVER PANGBURN

Playground and Recreation Association of America

Publicly financed recreation is growing by leaps and bounds. Adults play more

WHETHER recreation shall be administered by park commissions, school boards, independent recreation commissions, or other city departments, is a question on which there remain definite differences of opinion. Nor is there a complete meeting of the minds as to whether public recreation shall be financed by private or municipal groups. It is worth while to turn from theoretical arguments favoring one method or another and to examine the trends in recreation as shown by statistics over a period of years. While recreation is one of the newest of public functions, it is now of age, so to speak, and its prolonged existence in so many

cities in the United States and Canada makes feasible an intelligent survey of tendencies.

The aim of this article, therefore, is not to argue for a given form of administration or financing but to examine the statistics on this subject in the Year Book of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, prove what they will. Trends in legislation, recreational use of parks, school recreation space, leadership, and programs will also be discussed.

Of the Year Book it should be said that its statistics are obtained from replies to questionnaires sent annually to 2,500 communities by the Association.

tion. In 1925, 748 communities reported organized recreation under either private or municipal auspices, as contrasted to 711 in 1924 and 696 in 1923. Only programs that have leadership are included in the report.

ADMINISTRATION

The table below compares the managing authorities reporting in 1915 and in 1925.

ADMINISTRATION OF MUNICIPAL RECREATION SYSTEMS IN ALL CITIES REPORTING

<i>Managing Municipal Authority</i>	<i>1915</i>	<i>1925</i>
Park commissions or departments...	31	111
Schools.....	71	113
Recreation boards, bureaus, commissions or departments.....	76	174
Councils or selectmen.....	6	17
Public works department.....	3	10
Parks and public property department.....	6	..
Combination of departments.....	19	21
Miscellaneous.....	..	13
 Total.....	212	459

The total number in 1925 was 459 cities under municipal auspices, more than 61 per cent of all cities reporting organized recreation for the year.

The cities as listed above include not only those in which there is year round leadership but also programs conducted during the summer only. As year round recreation programs admittedly are more permanent and far-reaching, since they provide activities for all seasons, a comparison of the auspices and management in year-round cities is a better index to trends in administration than the comparison just made. In the following table, only cities reporting at least one worker employed full time the year round to give leadership are included.

ADMINISTRATION OF YEAR ROUND MUNICIPAL RECREATION SYSTEMS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

	<i>1915</i>	<i>1925</i>
Independent recreation commissions, bureaus, departments, boards, etc.	30	93
School boards, departments, districts, boards of education.....	25	40
Recreation bureaus in park departments, park departments, park commissions.....	8	28
Joint departments or commissions, such as parks and playgrounds commission.....	5	21
Other city departments.....	2	8
More than one department of divided management.....	17	24
	—	—
	87	214

This table shows a total of ninety independent recreation commissions, bureaus, departments or boards of recreation, which exceeds the combined total of recreation programs managed by parks, schools, and joint departments or commissions. It is also three times the number reported in 1915. However the increase under park auspices was 250 per cent and under joint departments more than 300 per cent.

HOW RECREATION IS FINANCED

Of the 748 cities reporting in 1925, 556 were financed wholly or in part from municipal funds. In 1915 through 1925, the number completely financed from tax funds doubled, increasing from 182 to 362. The number privately financed increased by 59 per cent, that is, from 112 to 178. Publicly financed programs were thus twice as numerous as private last year. Those financed jointly from municipal and private funds increased 47 per cent, growing from 130 to 190 cities.

BOND ISSUES FOR RECREATION PURPOSES

A review of the bond issues for recreation during the ten year period

1916-1925 shows there was much fluctuation in the number of issues and the total amounts for a single year. In 1916 twelve cities issued a total of \$2,900,500. The two following years, when the United States was active in the war, showed lean issues, totaling only \$473,800 and \$68,126 respectively. In 1919 there was a reaction to the large sum of \$13,510,000 issued by seventeen cities. The next largest total was that of \$11,301,317 in 1924, twenty-eight cities sharing in the amount. Last year the unusually large number of fifty-two cities reported issues, but the total was four millions less than that of the previous year.

In the three years when the total issues exceeded ten million dollars, the amounts were swelled greatly by such unusual single issues as \$10,000,000 for Detroit in 1919; \$3,800,000 for St. Louis in 1923, and \$8,000,000 for Chicago in 1924. The total issues for the ten year period were \$53,500,662, representing 211 different issues but not that many cities.

LEGISLATION

Municipal recreation has been stimulated by the passage of legislation in the following states: Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia. Such laws authorize cities, villages, counties and townships to operate systems of public recreation and playgrounds. The first such law was passed in 1915. In most of the states the legislation is less than five years old. Three of the earlier laws have been amended since 1923. In Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina,

Ohio, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia, the laws have referendum features compelling city commissions or councils to put to a vote the question of establishing recreation systems to be financed under a specified millage levy if a certain percentage of the qualified voters petition for such a vote. Under the encouragement of this feature, Springfield, Centralia, Blue Island, Maywood, Forrest Park, Alton, and Wilmette, Illinois; Waterloo and Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Jacksonville, Florida; Mt. Vernon and Oneida, New York, and Perth Amboy, New Jersey, have established municipal recreation commissions and systems of recreation since 1923. In certain other cities where the issue was voted upon, it was defeated.

RECREATION SPACE NEAR SCHOOLS

L. H. Weir, who is making a national survey of municipal and county parks and forests, remarked early this year on the part that schools are beginning to play in providing "stations" for outdoor recreation. Mr. Weir to date had collected data from 2,209 communities. In Greensboro, N. C., 160 acres of school grounds had been acquired during the preceding year, he stated. The plan, he said, was to have an area of ground around each school of not less than five acres—and most of these areas are ten to eighteen acres—so that neighborhood recreation or play parks will be connected with the school buildings. "In addition to that," stated Mr. Weir, "they are putting inside of their modern school buildings all those facilities that we ordinarily find in a community house or a recreation building, such as gymnasiums, swimming pools, auditoriums, public baths, manual training shops, domestic science and domestic arts. . . . In the city of Winston-Salem, a city of

about 70,000 people, ten schools have a total of 243 acres, or an acreage of approximately 24 acres per school. The smallest of these grounds is six acres and the largest thirty.

City planners very generally urge that playgrounds be located on or adjacent to school properties except in sections of the community where the schools are too remote from the children's homes to make such locations practicable.

In Massachusetts each new high school is required to have at least twenty acres of land. At least two new high schools in Cincinnati have forty acres each. A new one in Flint, Michigan, has 41 and in Wichita, Kansas, 59. A bulletin published by the state of California showed that in that state 50 high schools had 10-15 acres, 27 had 15-20 acres, and 27 had more than 20 acres.

The organization for use of the rapidly increasing school play areas has lagged, according to Mr. Weir.

In some cities, what is in effect a park-playground-school plan has developed. The location of new schools near parks, beautification of school play areas by landscapers, the purchase of areas adjacent to schools for play purposes by recreation commissions are phases of this co-operative planning. Such emerging of interest has been carried out primarily with reference to the space and without involving questions of management or authority. In Detroit recently a part of the proceeds of a large bond issue was expended for the purchase of areas for playgrounds adjacent to schools. In Winston-Salem, N. C., areas for school parks have been acquired and beautified by the school authorities.

THE RECREATIONAL USE OF PARKS

Another trend that Mr. Weir finds in his study is a more favorable atti-

tude toward recreation activities in the parks from the great majority of park executives. Relating how a superintendent of parks who ten years before had bitterly opposed locating playgrounds, baseball diamonds and other types of recreation facilities in the parks now stated that he was no longer opposed to such facilities, Mr. Weir said that he felt this attitude was typical of practically 95 per cent to 98 per cent of the park builders and planners of the nation today.

LEADERSHIP

With the rapid increase in the number of employed workers in recent years has come increased attention to training. Playground leaders are trained mainly in local institutes which have steadily multiplied in the last five or ten years. One hundred fifteen cities reported classes for employed workers and 84 for volunteers for 1925. A notable institute was that in Houston early this year. It was attended by 600 persons and lasted three weeks covering playground administration, dramatics, music, and many other topics.

Beginning in 1919, the Playground and Recreation Association of America has conducted a series of short course schools for community recreation executives. The students have been principally employed workers. This year a community recreation school of advanced character, to which only college or normal school graduates will be admitted, covering nine months' instruction, will be established in New York by the Association.

The increased importance given to recreation and the stabilizing effect of municipal support has attracted a constantly improving calibre of men and women. Salaries, too, have shown substantial increases. In recognition of the fact that the recreation executive

must have special qualifications, civil service commissions are more and more ready to open positions to persons from outside their own communities.

ADULTS PLAY MORE

Originally a children's movement, public recreation today serves approximately as many adults as youngsters, except where the systems are new. A study in a group of middle west cities last year showed that in Detroit the division of participants was 54 per cent children and 46 per cent adults; in Milwaukee, 60 per cent adults and 40 per cent children. In Duluth, the program catered to adults to a degree of 75 per cent in the winter, fall and

spring and to children in summer to a degree of 90 per cent. Public golf, which five years ago was not considered important enough to list in the Year Book of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, is now played in 188 cities. Tennis courts totalled 6,110 in 474 cities in 1925, as against 4,365 in 410 cities in 1924. Swimming pools, quoit courts and other facilities used primarily by adults have shown notable increases in recent years.

All available data points to the conclusion that the principle of publicly administered and publicly financed recreation is becoming firmly entrenched in the public mind.

FEDERATED GOVERNMENT FOR PITTSBURGH AND VICINITY

BY PAUL STUDENSKY

Secretary, Committee on Regional Government, National Municipal League

A proposal for the government of the Metropolitan Region of Pittsburgh which leaves to the smaller municipalities a large measure of influence and control. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that this article does not express the views of the committee or conclusions of any member. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE leading citizens of the city of Pittsburgh and of the other towns in Allegheny county are discussing a plan, proposed by the legislative commission on municipal consolidation in Allegheny county, for the unification of the municipalities in the county along the lines of a federal relationship.

Under this plan, the county of Allegheny will cease to exist as a county. It will be turned into the consolidated city of Pittsburgh. In addition to the powers now exercised by the county and poor districts, the enlarged city will possess certain additional municipi-

pal powers which the charter, to be prepared under the proposed constitutional amendment, may confer upon it. The government of the new city will be built out of the government of the county, not out of the present city government. Beneath the government of the new city, the present Pittsburgh and the 126 other municipalities will continue to exist as municipal divisions of the new city. Their present machinery of government, *i.e.*, their mayors, burgesses, councilmen, supervisors and other officials, and their powers of taxation and borrowing for

local purposes will be preserved for them. Pittsburgh will receive credit for a population of about one million and a half, or more than twice its present population, and will embrace an area of approximately 700 square miles as compared with the area of 45 square miles which it now occupies. The great bulk of this larger area is rural territory.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT

The plan is embodied in a constitutional amendment, passed for the first time by the legislature in special session in February of this year. If approved by the legislature again in its 1927 session, it will be voted on by the people of the state. If the amendment is adopted, it will be up to the legislature then to provide the machinery for the preparation of a charter for the new city. In order to become effective, this charter must be first enacted by the legislature, and then must be approved by the people of the county. However, it must be approved not only by a majority vote of the people of the county but also by a two-thirds vote in each of a majority of the municipalities within the county, *i.e.*, by 64 municipalities. Originally the bill required approval by merely a majority of the municipalities. But one of the senators amended it, changing majority to two-thirds, in order still better to safeguard the small municipalities.

The amendment was prepared with the assistance of Prof. Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan. It is worth noting that the commission which sponsors the amendment, is composed pre-eminently of representatives of the boroughs and townships. Out of the twenty-four members of the commission, nineteen are representatives of the smaller municipalities and only five represent the city of Pitts-

burgh, although Pittsburgh contains almost one-half of the population of the county. The representatives of the minor municipalities have, in fact, been nominated by the League of Boroughs and Townships of Allegheny County,—an organization which was created fifteen years ago to fight annexation to Pittsburgh, and which has carried on the fight actively ever since. The chairman of the commission and leading exponent of the plan—Mr. Joseph T. Miller—has been the moving force of the League of Boroughs and Townships from its very inception, first, as its secretary and now as its president.

THE PLAN IS A COMPROMISE

The plan represents a compromise between the policy of annexation and that of non-cooperation with Pittsburgh. It is a result of the realization by both the annexationists and anti-annexationists that a plan could be devised by which the local governments would be preserved, Pittsburgh given credit for the larger population and a machinery of government organized that could take care effectively of the needs of the district. It is a result particularly of the realization by the leaders of the League of Boroughs and Townships that they were bound to lose their battle against annexation unless they proposed some substitute plan for it; that they could not continue to be mere obstructionists but had to develop and lineup behind some constructive plan.

The charter can confer on the new municipality any powers "appropriate to a municipality" except such municipal powers as are specifically reserved to the municipal divisions of the new city. The government of the city would be vested in a board of commissioners (presumably of a small number). Authority is given to pro-

vide in the charter for the exercise by the new city of certain specific powers not now mentioned in the constitution, such as, zoning (which is now being carried on by the city, assessment of the costs of improvements not only on adjoining property but also upon out-lying property specially benefited thereby, and the creation of special districts for special services or improvements. The charter may provide for the maintenance by the new city of a metropolitan police and fire department. Property would be assessed for taxation purposes under the amendment according as it is of urban, suburban or rural character.

The amendment would guarantee to the cities, boroughs and townships their "continued existence as divisions of the consolidated city under their present names and forms of government and with their present boundaries "except that the present city of Pittsburgh" may be designated by a term "other than city and may be divided into two or more municipal divisions" and that any two or more municipal divisions may voluntarily unite into a single municipal division. No municipal division other than Pittsburgh could be split into two or more divisions. Consequently, no new borough, for example, could be formed out of parts of an existing township, and the number of municipal divisions cannot be increased. The municipalities will have under the amendment a constitutional status and guarantee of home rule which they do not now possess.

HOW POWERS ARE DISTRIBUTED

It is the intent of the amendment "that substantial powers be reserved" to these cities, boroughs and townships. The performance of all services, improvements and other works "which shall be within the municipal divisions

and principally for the use and benefit of the inhabitants thereof" except "the construction and maintenance of through traffic streets and bridges, tunnels, subways and appurtenances thereof (and) main or trunk lines for sewer, power and water service running through more than one municipal division and designated as such by the board of commissioners (of the new city) is reserved to the cities, boroughs and townships." The amendment would also reserve to the several subdivisions the power to maintain a local police force or local fire department, supplemental to the metropolitan police or fire force, the powers of taxation and borrowing for local purposes and "all other powers not specifically granted by the charter to the consolidated city." Any municipal division may, however, voluntarily by a majority vote of its electors, surrender any of its powers to the consolidated city.

The amendment provides that the charter of the new city may be amended by the legislature subject to the ratification by a majority vote of the city, but no amendment reducing the powers of municipal divisions shall be effective unless ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon in each of a majority of the municipal divisions.

EFFECT ON PITTSBURGH'S POLITICAL POSITION

The plan, if adopted, may work to check the domination of Pittsburgh's political machine over the government of the new city (county). It may even go so far as to assure a dominant control over the new city to the towns outside of Pittsburgh and the political groups in control of them. In the first place, these towns now contain a population slightly in excess of that of Pittsburgh. The balance of votes in their favor in the new city will be likely to increase, inasmuch as the population

outside of Pittsburgh increases faster than in Pittsburgh, due to the fact that the city is already relatively densely populated and cannot accommodate new population as readily as can the surrounding towns. The scheme will tend to check to some extent, further annexations to Pittsburgh and, consequently, to preserve the balance of votes in the new city in favor of the boroughs and townships. Secondly, the boroughs and townships and especially the men in control of their affairs, being very jealous of Pittsburgh, may be inclined to insist on the adoption of such provisions in the charter as will assure them dominant control over the affairs of the new city; and, having the right of absolute veto over the adoption of the charter and of any amendment of it under the scheme (the adoption of the charter being conditional on the approval of it by two-thirds of the voters in each of a majority of the municipalities), may succeed in carrying this purpose through.

The rank and file membership of the League of Boroughs and Townships, and generally the men in control over the affairs of the small towns, do not yet share the enthusiasm of the leaders of the League for the new plan. They are, in fact, very suspicious of it. But in due time they may change their attitude and come to favor the plan, as a further study will reveal to them that it will doubtless place large powers in their hands.

CRITICS OF THE AMENDMENT

Some critics of the plan contend that even if the amendment is adopted it will be exceedingly difficult to secure the adoption of a satisfactory charter, in view of the provision requiring the approval of it by two-thirds of the voters in at least 64 municipalities out of 127. One group, they say, will object to one feature of the charter, another to

another. These features may be of minor importance in the whole scheme, but they may be important to the particular groups or may provide good talking points to those who will seek to defeat the charter. The objector may each gather enough votes, under this arrangement, to defeat even the best charter.

Curiously enough, three and a half months after the adjournment of the legislature, when the volume of session laws with the official text of the resolution became public, it was discovered that an error had been made in amending the resolution by which the word "majority" was stricken out and the words "two thirds" were substituted in the wrong place with the result that the adoption of the charter is made contingent on a "two thirds vote in a majority of the municipalities in Allegheny County" instead of a "majority vote in two thirds of the municipalities" as was intended by the sponsors of the amendment, thus making the adoption of the charter still more difficult. The question was raised whether it will be necessary to have the error corrected by the next legislature and have the whole procedure started anew, in which case the date for the ratification of the amendment would be postponed at least two years. The sponsors of the amendment are inclined to disregard the error and go ahead with the correct draft in the expectation that if the constitutional amendment is adopted by the people and is attacked in the courts on the ground of the changed wording, the courts will sustain it, taking the view that the intention of the legislature in the matter was clear.

The amendment is also being criticized for being too long and too detailed. Many of its provisions, it is said, will be interpreted differently by

different people and will have to be ruled on by the courts. It will be very difficult to correct any errors in its phraseology, or, above all, in the scheme itself; for such correction may be possible only by means of another constitutional amendment and the accomplishment of this may take many years. The plan is essentially an experiment and as such may need to be revised from time to time. It should have been left, it is contended, to be dealt with to a larger degree by the legislature which could make necessary revisions, subject to general provisions which would assure home rule, instead of having been put so largely into the rigid forms of a constitutional amendment.

The authors of the plan were perfectly familiar with the dangers of "legislating by a constitutional amendment," but they felt that they would never be able to sell the plan to the boroughs and townships unless they put in black and white what the legislature could do and what it could not do, in the development of the plan and, unless they shifted, in fact, the power of development of the plan from the legislature to the boroughs and townships. The plan may be imperfect, they say, but we must begin somewhere.

Some Pittsburghers fear that the supergovernment, which the plan will set up over their city and which may be controlled by the boroughs and townships, may work to stifle the development of their city. Control by the politicians of the small towns, they say, may even be worse for Pittsburgh than a continuation of control by the city politicians. Some of them feel also that a federated plan of government would not work in the municipal field and that very little can be gained by maintaining within the enlarged city the borough governments which, in their

judgment, are very ineffective, and are even more closely controlled by a few interested officials and other individuals than is the big city. The authors of the plan, on the other hand are convinced of the advantage of having local men in charge of borough affairs and their ability to bring with them a wholesome influence into the city and in the relative efficiency of these smaller governments. They urge the preservation of these governments, particularly for the sake of preserving that local civic consciousness which, they contend, manifests itself in the boroughs, although the opponents deny that it exists.

The plan has been discussed very little in Pittsburgh. Few people know as yet what it is all about. Will it be discussed more actively in the city? Will the Pittsburghers be satisfied to leave the development of the plan to the boroughs and townships (if the latter make it their own) in the expectation that they will do the fair thing by the city, or will they take an aggressive stand for or against the plan? This remains to be seen. The general political situation in Pennsylvania will, in part, determine the attitude of the city and the boroughs and the progress of the plan.

It must be evident to any unbiased person, irrespective of the weak points that he may find in it, that it represents a serious-minded attempt at the solution of a very puzzling problem and represents a considerable advance over the traditional attitude of the small municipalities on this question.

Students of government will find an examination of the plan worth while. It carries the idea of a federal relationship among municipalities probably further than any existing plan or scheme of municipal government either in this country or abroad.

THE PRIMARY OR CONVENTION—WHICH?¹

BY MAYO FESLER

Director, The Citizens League of Cleveland

The author thinks we should have both

IN every day life there are some things which we are always debating and never seem to settle—prohibition, taxation, municipal ownership, evolution, and fundamentalism. In political life one of the long discussed and still unsettled questions is "How shall candidates be nominated for public office?" It was a question in colonial days. It was a problem in the early republic. It was warmly discussed in the seventies. It was the subject of many bitter verbal battles during the fights for the direct primary between 1890 and 1910. And the question still seems as far from settlement as ever.

Even in the much vaunted town meeting days when democracy—at least from this far off distance—seems to have operated so perfectly, we get inklings of nominating practices which were not altogether consistent with what our school histories tell us of that golden age. That crabbed but honest and sturdy old patriot, John Adams, writing of primary methods in Boston, back in February 1763, says in his journal:

This day I learned that the caucus club meets at certain times in the garret of Tom Daws, the adjutant of the Boston regiment. He has a large house and a movable partition in the garret, which he takes down and the whole club meets in one room. There they smoke tobacco 'till you can't see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip, I suppose; and there they choose a moderator who puts questions to vote regularly; and selectmen, assessors,

¹ An address before the Detroit Citizens League.

collectors, fire wardens, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen in the town.

In other words, a few of the political leaders got together on the quiet, much as they do now, selected the candidates and then went before the town meeting and had them endorsed. That was the way the famous town meeting operated so democratically.

When the federal constitution was framed, providing for election of a president and members of congress, no provision was made for nominating candidates for these offices. In fact, political parties were not even recognized in that noted document, and Washington and Madison expressed the sincere hope that they would not develop.

Nor did the early state constitutions provide for any system of nominating state and local officers. They provided for their election, but outlined no method by which their names could be placed upon the ballot. Nominating systems and political parties, which should be responsible for nominations, were permitted like Topsy to grow up in their own way.

It is not surprising, however, that the fathers did not deem it necessary to establish a nominating system. In colonial days they followed English experience where candidates, being few in number, were usually picked or designated by the leading citizens. The first nominee for the presidency of the new republic was so obviously

General Washington, that a nominating convention did not occur to any one. And the second nominee, John Adams, seemed quite as obvious.

So it was not until after the political revolution which put the radical Thomas Jefferson into the presidency that factional and party lines began to be sufficiently definite and rigid to require nominating machinery. Then in both the nation and states there developed the caucus—the congressional caucus for naming candidates for president and vice president,—the state legislative caucus for naming candidates for governor and in many instances for members of congress. This caucus method of nomination continued for some years until it became so thoroughly unpopular, because of its unrepresentative character, that factions within the parties refused to abide by the result. Then the caucus was abandoned.

It was a pardonable device in the absence of any thing better; but it was totally at variance with the principle of separation of legislative and executive powers laid down in the constitution. The caucus made the executive the creature of the legislative branch of the government; and instead of being independent of the legislature, as the constitutions intended, he naturally became the pliant tool of the legislature. This result, together with the unrepresentative character of the caucus, forced the political leaders to seek some other plan of nominating candidates.

In the meantime, a device had grown up in Pennsylvania whereby a group of delegates met in convention to choose a candidate to oppose the legislative caucus candidate for governor. The two factions became known as the "constitutionalists" and "conventionists." This was the beginning of the delegate convention plan of nomina-

tion which gradually spread to other states. At first it was incomplete and crude in form; but as it expanded and refinements were made from time to time, it became the accepted method throughout the states and nation for nominating candidates for public office. By the time political parties became firmly established, the delegate convention process of naming candidates had become as much the practice as if it had been written into law.

THE PARTY CONVENTION SOUND IN THEORY

Here was a device which seemed to make the republican form of government really workable. It was founded upon sound principles and was in full accord with the underlying theory of representative government. All of the voters of a party, of course, could not meet in mass meeting to choose their candidate for president, for governor or for mayor. So what could be more reasonable than to say that the voters in a small community shall get together and choose their delegates to represent them in the party convention? That is what the republican form of government means—government by the representatives of the whole people.

Then why wasn't it continued? Because in practice it lost the thing that made it sound in principle—its representative character. The convention soon ceased to be representative of the people who chose the delegates. In the hands of unscrupulous political leaders and party bosses it became the tool for their selfish purposes. It was used by them to reward the faithful, punish the insubordinates, promote the selfish interests of financial groups, and place the highest officers in the state and nation under personal obligations to those who, for the time being, were in power.

The delegates were handpicked by

the party bosses. They were bought and sold for hard cash. They did not represent their constituents—"they were as sheep before the slaughter so they opened not their mouths"—except to vote as they were told. They were not delegates—they were mere dummies. That is why the convention became so unpopular.

I recall a scene during my college days in Chicago—a Republican county convention, under the tutelage of Billy Lorimer, which met in a large hall on the south side to choose candidates for county offices and the state legislature. I sat in the gallery just over a delegation from the district in which Hinky Dink and Bath House John flourished like the bay tree. All day during the convention the leader of that delegation walked up and down the aisle beside and in front of his men scowling and scolding; and every time a vote was to be announced, he would yell out to them how to vote and the whole delegation would respond like an echo. Of course, that was not representative government; it was autocracy of the worst kind.

CONVENTION BECAME UNPOPULAR

I am also reminded of an incident in my boyhood days down in Indiana—the state which has had more politics to the square inch and where the politicians have originated as many methods of thwarting the electoral will of the people than probably any other state in the Union. We had an old shoemaker in my home county—a man liked by everybody—honest, frank and popular. He became interested in politics and decided to seek nomination for the legislature. There was no doubt of his popularity, and he was openly encouraged by delegates and voters alike to make the race. The day of the convention arrived, and Uncle Billy, dressed in his Sunday best,

drove down to the convention town. Everybody seemed to be for him and he was confident of success. When he reached home late that evening, his wife noticed the absence of buoyancy in his step and a strange silence on his part. Finally at the supper table she asked him how things at the convention had gone. His reply was, "Well, Nancy, everybody was for me but the delegates." He was right, of course, as far as he could see; but he told only a part of the truth. If the voters had had their choice, Uncle Billy would have been nominated overwhelmingly. The delegates, almost to a man, would have been for him if they had been free agents; but they were not. The local bosses, knowing that Uncle Bill could not be controlled when he got into the legislature, sent the order along the grape vine to leave him on the side lines.

Why, in that same county in Indiana the party bosses had the nominations distributed from six to ten years in advance. It was well understood that Jones from Jackson township would receive the nomination for sheriff this year; Brown from Butler township two years hence; and Smith from Monroe township two years later. The party members were practically left out of the picture. They were not choosing the candidates. The leaders were naming them and using the nominations for trading purposes.

HOW THE MACHINE OPERATED

If you want an illuminating and interesting evening with practical political processes, and particularly with nominating methods, I would suggest the reading of Tom Platt's Autobiography. Note how he introduces his chapters with "How I Nominated Odell for Governor" or "How I made Roosevelt Vice-President." You will recall that Platt sent his emissaries out

to Montauk Point, where Roosevelt had just arrived with his famous Rough Riders from Cuba, to offer the Colonel the Republican nomination for governor of New York. This was weeks before the convention met. Roosevelt accepted, was nominated and elected. Then after he had served for four years as governor and had broken most of the political china in Platt's well-stored shop; Platt decided, long before the national Republican convention met, that he would get rid of Roosevelt by having him nominated as the Republican candidate for vice-president.

Platt tells in his autobiography of Roosevelt's resistance to the vice-presidential nomination and relates the conversation that took place between the two on the eve of the convention. Roosevelt, protesting vigorously, declared that he did not want the nomination because the people wanted him renominated for governor of New York. "But you cannot be renominated for governor and you are going to be nominated for vice-president" replied Platt.

"I cannot be renominated?" retorted Roosevelt.

"No," replied Platt. "Your successor is in this room," pointing to Chairman Odell. And even a Roosevelt succumbed. The people who chose the delegates to both the state convention and the national convention had not been consulted in this one-man decision.

Charles Evans Hughes stated it clearly and accurately while Governor of New York, when he said:

In practice the delegates to these conventions are generally mere pieces on the political chess board, and most of them might just as well be inanimate so far as effective participation in the choice of candidates is concerned.

Chauncey M. Depew, in a reminiscent but unguarded moment, speaking

at a reunion of political leaders in the famous "Amen" corner at the old Fifth Avenue hotel in New York just before it was torn down, stated the facts even more forcefully:

During the quarter of a century more men in the state and nation consulted with Thomas C. Platt in this corner than in any other place. Here were made governors, state senators, supreme court judges and members of congress. State conventions would meet at Rochester, Syracuse, or Saratoga; but the eight hundred members would wait before acting to know what had been decided upon in the "Amen" corner.

This is typical of what was going on in party conventions in nearly every state of the Union; except that in most states public opinion was less consulted than in New York where the political parties were more evenly balanced. The chief reason why the bosses dared thus to dominate nominating conventions at that time was the fact that when they had named a ticket they were able to lock the door and throw the key away. Under the law no other candidate could get on the party ballot at the election. Is it any wonder then that honest voters revolted against this form of political tyranny and demanded that instead of delegate conventions for choosing party candidates, they should be chosen at a primary by the direct vote of the members of the party?

THE PRIMARY

So the political revolution which began in Ohio and Pennsylvania, by the adoption of primary laws, spread rapidly until by 1900 a large majority of the states had substituted direct primaries for the convention plan of nominating candidates.

The political reformers were sincere in the belief that they had at last put the control of party nominations back into the hands of the people and all would be well in the future. The

party regulars insisted, and with much show of reason, that the people were adopting a plan which was totally at variance with the theory of a republican or representative form of government. Such arguments however theoretically sound, were not convincing in the face of the actually unrepresentative character of the party convention and the stifling of public opinion by the party leaders who controlled the conventions.

The primary has now been in practical operation for a quarter of a century. In examining its record over the past twenty-five years, we must admit that at no time has it accomplished all that its advocates claimed for it. It has brought no millennium in politics and the bosses seem to keep in the saddle as comfortably as before. Not even the primary's most enthusiastic advocates will maintain that the nominees are, on the whole, much more satisfactory than under the convention plan. And its opponents stoutly declare that the quality of candidates, executive, legislative and judicial, has been distinctly lower than under the convention system. In fact so much dissatisfaction has been developed that a few of the states have already returned to the convention plan; and in others a return is being vigorously advocated even by the independent press.

DEFECTS OF THE PRIMARY

What are the more serious charges that have been made against the direct primary?

In the first place, it has increased the voter's burden. This cannot be denied, but the trouble was that when it was substituted for the convention plan it was not accompanied by the short ballot. The voter, who formerly had been asked to elect 20 to 40 officers from the list of candidates of two or

three parties, was now asked to nominate candidates for these 20 to 40 officers from a dozen or more candidates for each office. The ballots in the 1916 Chicago primaries contained 1873 names—between 400 and 500 names on each party ballot—and the voter was asked to select candidates for 51 offices. The Indianapolis Republican primary ballot of 1926 contained 134 names for 36 offices. The two Ohio ballots in the August primary in Cuyahoga County contained a total of 240 names for 48 offices. That is an impossible task to impose upon a conscientious voter who has to make a living in addition to performing his civic duties. The direct primary, instead of lightening the voter's burden, has more than doubled it. He should be asked to vote only for those offices which *ought* to be elective.

The short ballot should have preceded the direct primary. If we had in this country the English short ballot, where the voter is required, one year to select, from a list of three or five names at most, his representative in parliament; and the next year, from another list of three or five names at most, his representative in his city or borough council, then the voter could perform his electoral task intelligently and he would not feel each time that he is going up a blind alley and voting merely for a lot of names. The adoption of the short ballot would make the primary a sizable job for the voter.

WEAKENS PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

Another charge against the primary system is that it weakens party responsibility. To my mind this is its most serious defect. Whether we are strong partisans or not, we must admit that popular government is not possible without political parties; and any influence which weakens the responsi-

bility of political parties to that same extent weakens the efficiency of the administration of popular government. Before our election process is in a really healthy condition, we must restore to our political parties the right to select their own candidates. When the direct primary took away from the political parties the right of the organization to choose the candidates which they were expected to support, the people were treating the patient by bleeding it—thinking that by depriving the party of its responsibility, it would be restored to health. The practice of bleeding is no more applicable to political parties than to individuals. The principle is quite as well established in politics as it is in ethics and business that authority must always accompany responsibility. But the primary does not prevent the political parties from holding preprimary conventions for adopting platforms and naming party candidates. All that the primary asks is that the party voters have the final decision as to party candidates.

Another defect of the primary, which really grows out of the one just discussed, is the emphasis which it places on political personalities rather than political parties. The popular individual, however incompetent, or the candidate with plenty of money, can enter the race in the primary and in 50 per cent of the cases will win. As a result, we have had such political catastrophes as an auctioneer and vaudeville artist as mayor of Indianapolis; a brick mason as mayor of St. Louis; a cow puncher as chief executive in Chicago; and a street car motorman as mayor of New York,—no one of whom would likely have been named originally by a responsible party convention. An even more distressing result of the primary system to many is the lowering of the dignity of the

bench and the courts of justice by the nomination of men who, through appeals to racial or religious prejudice, are named in a popular primary and elected to administer justice without prejudice.

To my way of thinking there can be no greater danger to the ultimate success of democracy than the substitution of mere political personalities for the orderly and consistent direction of government by responsible political parties. When we substitute loyalty to a personality, for loyalty to a political faith, then we are on the road to a dictatorship. That is one reason why thinking men and women should support the principle of sound party responsibility. This is always on the assumption that the political parties will rightly assume their responsibilities.

Another charge against the primary is the absence of any compelling incentive for the party leaders and workers to get together in local or state meetings to discuss the welfare of the party and to adopt a platform of principles and policies. One of the chief functions of a party is to name and support candidates for public office. Frequent gatherings of party representatives, both local and state, furnish the opportunity to discuss party problems and to secure the point of view of other localities and sections of the state. This desirable feature of party activities has been largely lost under the primary. While these gatherings would still be justified under the primary with a preprimary convention they simply are not called by the party leaders unless required by law. Then they are largely perfunctory.

Still another criticism which is offered is the fact that only a small minority of the voters go to the primaries and aid in the selection of candidates. The primary vote is

usually less than 50 per cent of the vote cast at the election. What we need to do first is to remove the unnecessary burdens of the long ballot and frequent registration from the shoulders of the voter, make his task a sizable and important one, and he will be far more likely to exercise his electoral franchise.

There are other minor criticisms, some sound and some not, which are laid at the door of the primary. It is charged that the primary is an added expense. That criticism, however, does not seem to be well founded because when all the costs of the old convention were added up, it was probably quite as expensive as the primary. The only difference is that the primary bill is paid from taxes directly, while the convention bill was paid indirectly by the public.

It is also charged that the primary results in newspaper, rather than party, nomination. It is quite true that the newspapers do have greater influence under the direct primary. But as between the enlightened sense of public responsibility on the part of our influential newspapers, and the control of the convention by the party boss through the distribution of patronage, the public interest will, I believe, be better protected by the newspaper.

THE OLD CONVENTION IS GONE

No, the party primary has not worked as well as its advocates prophesied. In fact, in many states, it has "*been worked*," until many less serious minded citizens declare for a return to the convention without reservation; and the active party leaders naturally long for it, as a thirsty man longs for the old oaken bucket that hung in the well. In fact, someone has transposed that longing into these words:

How dear to my heart are the old time conventions,

When fond recollections present them to view.
The proxies, the slates, the deep tangled instructions

And every loved trick that our politics knew.
The speeches, the motions, reports of committees,
The ayes and the noes, and the gavel that fell,
The caucus at midnight, the saloon open by it.

And e'en the old growler that ne'er saw the well.

The old time convention, the hand-picked convention,

The boss ruled convention that served him so well.

That kind of a convention is gone—never to return. The direct primary, in my opinion, is here to stay. The independent newspapers and the enfranchised women will never sanction a return to the old iron-clad, lock-the-door-throw-the-key-away party convention. So what are we going to do about it? Being a believer in the party convention, I have frankly pointed out to you what its past failures have been and what its inherent defects are. Being a firm believer in the direct primary, I have also frankly pointed out its failures and its defects.

You are, no doubt, wondering how I am going to answer the question which was announced as the subject of my remarks: "The primary or convention. *Which?*" My answer is; "Both"—both the preprimary party convention and the direct party primary—because it is only by the combination of the two that we are going to restore party responsibility and yet keep the control of party policies and nominations in the hands of the party members.

The primary places a weapon in the hands of the party members which they can use with effect in case of need. They are no longer helpless as they were under the old convention system. The very fact that the party members retain a veto will lead party leaders in

party conventions to make nominations which, on the whole, will be more satisfactory to the party members.

Those of us who believe in party responsibility in public affairs and in representative government should urge the enactment of election laws which will provide; *first*, for a pre-primary party convention of delegates, duly chosen by party members. This convention should be held sixty days before the primary at which party candidates are to be nominated. *Second*, for party nomination by petition signed by party members which must be filed thirty days before the primary. If there are no petitions filed, it will indicate that the party convention was a representative body and that the party members are sufficiently well satisfied with the nominees not to protest by naming opposing candidates. If no petition candidates are named, then a primary could be dispensed with for that year. If they are named,

then all names, convention and petition candidates, would go on the ballot at the primary and the choice of the party members would be made by the whole party, and not merely by the party leaders.

A preprimary party convention, followed by the primary, will not only strengthen the party organization and keep it responsive to the public opinion of party members; but it will, in my opinion, more nearly maintain the representative character of our institutions than any method of nomination yet adopted or practiced in this country. In a republic, no method of nominating candidates for public office can long survive after it has lost its representative character. The party convention without the right of party members to name other candidates soon results in an unrepresentative system of nomination. The preprimary convention and the primary will keep the nominating system representative.

THE FATE OF THE FIVE CENT FARE

II. TORONTO UNDER MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

BY GEORGE H. MAITLAND

Municipal Editor of The Toronto Star

Mr. Maitland is frankly an enthusiast for public ownership of public utilities, and here tells the story of a publicly-owned street railway in a city where nearly all the public utilities are owned by the people. Five years ago a private company was serving half the city of Toronto at an average fare of 3.9 cents. To-day a city commission is giving service throughout the whole city, with universal transfers, at an average fare of 6.15 cents. :: :: :: :: :: ::

TORONTO, with a population of 560,000 and an area of 35 square miles, is served by a city-owned street railway operating at a cash fare of 7 cents, minimum adult ticket fare of 6 cents

and average fare of 6.15 cents, with universal free transfers anywhere within the city limits. The system is operated by the Toronto Transportation Commission (T. T. C.), composed of

three unpaid commissioners appointed by the city council. The commission is required by statute to charge a fare that will meet all expenses, including adequate reserves; in other words, to give service at cost. The adult day fares are the same as have been charged since the commission took over the road in September of 1921. Since that time it has been able to operate at a small annual profit, has reduced night fare and school children's fares, and has greatly extended its car lines and bus services.

There is no further reduction of fares in sight. A change, if one comes, will probably be in the direction of making the ticket fare of 6 cents available to those who buy tickets in smaller quantity than fifty. They now pay 6.25 cents. The night fare is 10 cents cash, as compared with 15 cents before the commission's reduction. Children 51 inches in height and under, but not in arms, are carried at 10 tickets for a quarter, or 3 cents cash. School children under 16 years are granted 7 tickets for 25 cents.

The fares now charged under public ownership are for an excellent modern service covering the whole city. As indicative of present conditions, it may be said that there is not an untidy car-house or loop on the system, and the esprit de corps of the organization has shown a decided improvement. Prior to September of 1921 the Toronto Railway Company, under private ownership, served only half the city (the central half in which four-fifths of the people lived) at a cash fare of 5 cents, with rush-hour tickets eight for a quarter, and an average fare of 3.9 cents. Service, roadbed and equipment were wretched. The company, though putting nothing aside for reserves, was showing an annual loss approaching half a million dollars during the last years of its franchise. It had short

haul and density of population in its favor, yet lost heavily on third-rate service at 3.9 cents. The public ownership commission has doubled the area of service, installed one of the best systems on the continent, and shows a profit at 6.15 cents after the most ample provision for reserves has been made. Substantial payments have also been made towards debt reduction, so that the fare not only pays for the ride, but contributes towards paying for the property.

CITY REVENUES REDUCED

Comparisons, however, must be modified by the factor of taxation. The Toronto Railway Company, operating under an agreement dating back to 1891, was not only prevented from raising its fares, but was forced to pay mileages, percentages and taxes to the city. The percentages were based on a sliding scale according to traffic, running up to a maximum of 20 per cent. As this maximum had long since been reached, one fifth of every *new* dollar of Toronto Railway Company revenue finally went to the city, together with the lower percentages on longer established traffic. In percentages, mileages and taxes, the company was paying Toronto \$1,500,000 per year in the final period of its franchise. This money the city no longer gets. It derives perhaps \$70,000 per year from taxes on the Transportation Commission's land.

On the other hand, the city was obligated by the Toronto Railway agreement to lay and maintain foundations and pavement for the company's tracks, and this cost the municipality hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. The T. T. C., on the contrary, lays its own foundations, but is allowed a rebate on the pavement equivalent to the cost of adjacent paving. The city also rebates 75 per cent of the pavement maintenance.

These factors make comparison somewhat difficult. But it is illuminating to state that while Toronto has to-day one of the very best street railway systems in North America, Detroit and Cleveland appear to be the only two with a lower fare among 24 cities of over 250,000 population in Canada and the United States which are served by single systems. And in these two cities the fare is less than a quarter of a cent below Toronto's. A 10 cent cash fare is not an uncommon rate to-day.

To understand the situation in Toronto, it is necessary to remember that the capital of Ontario affords an outstanding example of publicly-owned public utilities. It is somewhat aside from the purpose of this article, but of importance nevertheless, to point out that in pre-war days Toronto was served by five electric railways, three active distributors of light and power (besides some of the railways), three steam railways, three express companies, two telegraph companies, a gas company and the Bell Telephone Company, *all privately owned*, besides a municipally-owned waterworks and the Hydro (municipal) electric system. These figures do not include the multiplicity of holding and allied companies which private ownership so often entails. But instead of the eighteen privately-owned concerns which I have listed, there are to-day only five. All Toronto's public utilities are now in the hands of the people, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway (with its express and telegraph companies), the Bell Telephone Company and the Consumers Gas Company. And in the gas company the city has stock, with a limited rate control.

Ownership by the people involves, in some of these cases, municipal or municipal-partnership control; in others (the national railways, express and telegraphs), federal control. Includ-

ing a civic abattoir and housing project not listed in the foregoing paragraphs (and excluding, of course, the federally-owned enterprises), Toronto herself has assets in the form of municipally-owned services which easily total \$110,000,000 in value and represent an even greater capital investment. That is a story in itself, but I have summarized it here because it is necessary to an understanding of the street railway situation. The municipalization of all the street railways in Toronto has been a part of the great movement towards public ownership which has swept over the city during the past fifteen years.

THE CHANGE IN OWNERSHIP

With this glimpse of the general picture, with the T. T. C. "sitting pretty" in the foreground, it may be helpful to recall the situation seven years ago, when THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW presented a series of articles dealing with "The Fate of the Five-Cent Fare" in a number of the larger cities of the continent, including Toronto.

At that time Toronto was served by the Toronto Railway Company, which had a monopoly in the older part of the city; by the "city ends" of three radials under the same control as the central system, but not invading its territory; by the city portion of a fourth radial, and by four city-owned local car lines—all in the outlying sections. The Toronto Railway served only half the area of the city because the courts had held that it need not extend its routes beyond the limits as they were in 1891 when its agreement with the city had been made. The civic lines had been established to give service where the Toronto Railway had declined to do so. They were, for the most part, a series of disconnected spurs.

Such were the conditions when, seven years ago, I was asked to discuss

the future of the five-cent fare in these columns. I answered that there was no such fare to discuss. The Toronto Railway Company was serving half the area of the city at an average of 3.9 cents, but the various supplementary systems increased the total fare to as high as 14.17 cents, and necessitated many car changes for passengers traveling from one outer portion of Toronto to another, a journey which now costs only 6 cents. I prophesied, however, that the Toronto Railway, even with its operations confined to the central thickly-populated territory, was bound to lose money. In the next two years it went behind fully a million dollars. The civic lines in the outskirts, and the city ends of two radials were also losing money. In the post-war years of peak costs, the various street railways of Toronto fell upon evil days.

Under these handicaps, in September of 1921, the Toronto transportation commission took over the Toronto Railway and civic lines, co-ordinating them finally with the city sections of the Metropolitan radial, Mimico radial, Scarborough radial and Toronto Suburban which were later acquired—thus wiping out every privately-owned electric railway in the city, and producing one unified all-city system, with single fare and universal transfer.

THE CITY PAID DEARLY

The arbitration by which the Toronto Railway passed into the hands of the city was one of the lengthiest and most costly in the history of electric or steam railways. It ended finally before the judicial committee of the privy council in England, and the costs of city and company mounted up to about \$2,500,000. The price the city finally paid for the road—the central system only—was in the neighborhood of \$12,000,000. But for years the company had permitted its tracks and

rolling stock to deteriorate, and its value for incorporation in the up-to-date, all-city system was hardly more than \$7,000,000. This, and the amounts paid for other properties acquired, account for the following statistics, as of December 31, 1925:

T. T. C.'s real physical property..	\$38,717,000
Intangible assets, representing no physical property.....	6,119,092
Present debt of T. T. C.....	43,020,054

These figures give some idea of the financial handicap under which the T. T. C. has had to operate. It inherited a series of run-down disconnected roads (some at different gauges); it was forced to assume the burden of a capitalization which their condition did not warrant; and all this meant the rebuilding and re-equipping of the lines at a period of high costs, in addition to the initial payment out of all proportion to value.

It is in the face of these difficulties that public ownership has given an all-city service at an average fare of 6.15 cents, has paid high wages, has made numerous extensions, has laid aside ample reserves, and has achieved an annual surplus. The reserves are approximately \$8,000,000, of which \$2,400,000 represents accumulation for redemption of debt.

REJUVENATING A RAILWAY

To illustrate what has happened, it may be stated that the Toronto Railway and other lines now incorporated in the T. T. C. system had a mileage of 177 miles. The T. T. C. has made 50 miles of extensions, and is now operating 227 miles. But in addition to extensions, it has had to rebuild 54 miles of track and partially rehabilitate 55 miles.

The city commission built a large repair shop at a cost of \$2,000,000; rebuilt or enlarged four carhouses, built one new carhouse and abandoned one.

It purchased 575 new steel cars, abandoning as useless 482 of the 830 Toronto Railway cars which the city had been forced to buy. The 348 cars which it retained, it rebuilt into modern types such as treadle cars. It has now 992 cars in service, all efficient and of modern design. These fine cars, operating over a splendid roadbed, afford a contrast to conditions under private ownership when (as late as 1921) some of the trailers used were slightly-altered horse-cars, dating back to the '80's, and when many miles of track were under condemnation of the courts as dangerous and unfit for use.

But the T. T. C. has had other difficulties to face besides those of excessive capitalization and the necessity of "scrapping" assets. It has had to face a considerable reduction in the total number of passengers carried, coupled with an increased traffic at evening peak hour. The decrease in total traffic has been due to industrial conditions and the use of private motor cars. The increased traffic at evening rush-hour has been due to the growing tendency to release all labor at 5 or 5.30 P. M.

The difficulties involved by this heavily accented evening peak may be illustrated by the fact that the T. T. C. has 150 cars or trailers costing \$2,000,-000 which make only one trip per day five days per week, because by the time they could get back downtown again to pick up more passengers, the load would be "lifted" and the rush-hour over. There is, as in all cities, severe crowding when the peak is at its worst, but 70 per cent more seats are offered on the T. T. C. during evening peak hour than were available on the Toronto Railway. The publicly-owned system gives adequate service in an area of 35 square miles where the Toronto Railway gave inadequate service in an area of only 17

square miles. As an illustration of present conditions, it may be noted that the most lightly-traveled routes in the most remote part of the city at the hours of least traffic have a car at least every six minutes.

In addition to the railway lines which it operates, the T. T. C. has feeder bus lines in several outlying parts of the city, operated at no additional fare. The longest ride on the system is 12.1 miles for 6 cents; the longest non-transfer ride is 10.04 miles.

Yet fewer people are riding on this enlarged and improved system than rode on the Toronto Railway six years ago. In 1920 there were 198,137,317 fares on that road, and 35,000,000 (mostly the same riders) on the civic lines which served the outlying parts of the city. In 1925, on the other hand, the all-city system carried only 180,779,940 passengers. It is to be remembered, however, that Toronto is a city with a high percentage of motor owners, and that the habit of "picking up" neighbors and taking them downtown has been highly developed. Even so, Toronto's annual riding habit on the T. T. C. (revenue rides per capita) is 342—equivalent to nearly the city's population each day—which I think will be found higher than the riding habit of Montreal, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, Winnipeg, Pittsburgh or Philadelphia.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP WAGES

I have already pointed out that the T. T. C. has made its favorable showing in Toronto despite triple handicaps: (1) The inflated price it was compelled to pay for run-down properties by a court decision; (2) The necessity of rebuilding and re-equipping the whole system at a period of high prices; (3) As compared with United States systems, the high cost of material and equipment in Canada. It should be

added that the Toronto commission has also made its success while paying its men good wages and giving them favorable working conditions. While reductions have been made in trainmen's wages since the peak in 1920 in practically every large railway in Canada or the United States, the T. T. C. has continued to pay its experienced operators 60 cents an hour (with an extra 5 cents for one-man operation), and has greatly increased the comfort in which they work. Every operator is guaranteed a minimum of 6 hours work per day, but the majority work on an 8 hour basis.

The men are practically all Anglo-Saxons (43 per cent of the car crews are returned soldiers), and the majority own their own homes, living, as they do, in a city where over 60 per cent of the homes are owner-occupied.

To continue the payment of good wages to these men out of reasonable fares, despite the handicaps outlined, the commission has had to make many economies. Some of these involved large initial expenditures. But they are paying for themselves. It is possible to save money by spending money. There is, for example, a substantial financial advantage in running modern cars at good speed over a fine roadbed, rather than rickety cars more slowly over a down-at-the-heels roadbed. And there is also a financial advantage in having a modern shop in which to repair them. How an investment will sometimes pay for itself is illustrated by the fact that maintenance costs in the old shops in 1922 amounted to \$1,146,641, while in the new shops in 1926 they will be only \$700,900. There is a still further advantage in storing cars in modern sprinklered premises, or in the open, for the insurance is substantially lower. I have here listed the result of these and

a number of other economies on the T. T. C.:

1. The T. T. C. has obtained its capital at 4.68 per cent. Private companies issuing bonds would have difficulty in obtaining money as cheaply.

2. By erecting new repair shops, the T. T. C. has reduced its maintenance cost from 4.32 cents per mile in 1922 to 3.35 cents in 1925, and (estimated) 3.02 cents in 1926.

3. Superior equipment and superior facilities for repairs have reduced car failures in service. The average mileage operated per car before requiring removal from service for repairs, increased from 1,100 in January of 1923 to 6,100 in August of 1925.

4. Installation of electric switches has saved approximately \$16,000 per year.

5. Increase of speed from an average of 9.13 miles per hour in 1922 to 9.69 miles per hour in 1925 has saved \$183,000 per year.

6. The Toronto Railway Company paid \$95,928 to carry \$9,952,500 of insurance in 1921. In 1925 the T. T. C. paid only \$46,935 to carry \$22,350,000 of insurance. The saving for the latter amount of insurance is \$215,000 per year.

7. The T. T. C. has averaged an expense of less than 1 per cent of gross revenue for all injuries and damages. The average of American electric railways is nearly three and three-quarters per cent. Since September 1, 1921, the T. T. C. has carried 1,222,000,000 passengers and run 125,000,000 car miles without one fatal accident to a passenger.

8. The use of 140 one-man cars (out of 992) has saved approximately \$300,000 per year.

The Toronto system has reduced its operating and maintenance expenses from \$8,468,841 in 1922 (when it had

inadequate facilities) to \$7,390,000 in 1925. The moral seems to be that it pays to use modern cars, to keep roadbed in good shape, and to provide adequate facilities for repairing rolling stock. All these things not only save money, but give the car operators a sense of pride in their system. In that connection an interesting psychological experiment was tried in Toronto. Large mirrors were placed at the entrances of car barns where the men could hardly help seeing themselves. An improvement in neatness was at once noted.

OTHER T. T. C. ACTIVITIES

I have pointed out that the T. T. C. serves the whole of Toronto at a single fare with universal transfers. It is, indeed, the largest operator of buses and electric cars in Canada. It maintains, during the winter months, an extra fare de luxe coach service between the downtown section and one of the wealthier districts. This experiment has attracted many passengers who would otherwise use their own motor cars.

The commission has also gone into the sight-seeing business, and has 15 sight-seeing coaches available for visitors to the city, each with a capacity of 29 passengers. In addition it has 25 standard coaches of similar capacity and two somewhat smaller vehicles—all for the use of picnickers and other parties going out of the city. These coaches travel to points all over Ontario and are chartered to handle as many as 3,000 picnickers in a single day. In July of this year a daily coach service to and from Niagara Falls was inaugurated.

The commission is also operating street railway lines outside the city for the township of York and town of Weston. These are run at an additional fare, and their finances are

separate from those of the city system. The city owns 97 miles of interurban lines, known as the York radials, which have been operated for it at a substantial loss by the provincial Hydro commission. Negotiations are under way to transfer these, as well, to the T. T. C., which can give them entrance to Toronto and effect numerous economies. But their finances are to be kept separate from those of the system which serves the city. When these new duties are added to the city commission's present activities, it will be operating the following mileages of publicly-owned rail and bus routes:

	Single Track Miles
City street railways.....	227
Buses (included in city fare).....	18
Coach route in city.....	8
Township and Weston lines.....	16
York radials.....	97
	—
	366

This will constitute the second largest street railway system in North America under one public-ownership management. And if the success hitherto achieved by the Toronto transportation commission is continued as its responsibilities increase, Toronto will have no reason to repent its bargain. But I would make one proviso. The system must continue to be free from political interference. That was the principle laid down by General Manager H. H. Couzens, who established it, and by his successor in office, D. W. Harvey, and the commission charter provides that no member of the city council can serve on the commission. The commission's only contact with the city council is for the provision of capital funds.

It is vital to the system's success that this aloofness from municipal politics should be maintained.

THE PERMANENT REGISTRATION SYSTEM OF BOSTON¹

BY JOSEPH P. HARRIS

BOSTON has had permanent registration longer than any other large city of this country, the present system of registration dating from 1896. Even before this, however, Boston had permanent registration. The system has been so successful that public officials and others interested in improving registration, or in securing permanent registration, have gone to Boston to study the system there.

Registration in Boston is unique in several ways. The outstanding merit of the system is the convenience to the voter, who, once registered, is not required to register again as long as he continues to reside in the city. When he moves he is automatically transferred from one address to another without any bother on his part. This is accomplished through a listing of all adult residents annually. Elections in Boston are practically free from voting frauds of all kinds. However, the system of registration, while convenient to the voter and free from voting frauds, is not economical in its operation, owing to the use of an obsolete system of records.

THE ORGANIZATION

At the head of the election and registration machinery is an election com-

¹Mr. Harris, who has spent the past year studying registration systems in the United States, contributed an article on registration in Milwaukee for the October, 1925, REVIEW and one on San Francisco published in the issue of last April. Further articles on New York City and Omaha will follow in the near future.

mission, consisting of four members, divided equally between the two major political parties, and appointed by the mayor for overlapping terms of four years. Appointments are largely personal with the mayor, instead of being dictated by the party organizations. The election office is not run by the party machines, as is the case in most other large Eastern cities. The mayor is not required to appoint from party machine nominations.

The chairman of the board receives a salary of \$6,000 annually, and the other members are paid \$5,000. All of the members at present devote practically their entire time to the duties of the office, though this is not required by law, and the full time attendance of the members of the board is not especially desirable. The chairman of the board has served continuously on the board since 1900, and was connected with the office for some years prior to that time, but the other members were only recently appointed.

The board is given rather wide powers. In many matters, such as the time and places of registration outside of the central office, they have full discretion. They also serve as jury commissioners, and select the jury panels.

There are forty-four permanent employees in the election office, but there is no chief clerk, or outstanding person in charge of the routine of the office. There are five clerks of a supervisory character, but each of these clerks has

charge of a department, the board itself supervising the entire office. The office force is now selected through civil service, though there is still the requirement of equal division between the two major political parties, and appointments are made from the three highest persons on the eligible list of the political party which is entitled to the next appointment. Quite a number of the present employees, however, were brought into the service before the extension of the merit system to the office.

The salary scale of the office force is fixed by the city council, and is comparatively low. There are three positions paying \$2700 annually, two paying \$2500 annually, and the remaining positions pay \$2000 annually or less. The entrance salary is \$1500 annually, with an automatic annual increase of \$100 up to a salary of \$2000, but there is no further increase except through promotion to one of the supervisory positions. The permanent office force does all of the work of the office, the amount of extra help employed being negligible.

There are two assistant registrars appointed for each of the twenty-two wards, who serve during the ten evening sessions for registration in the wards. They are divided equally between the two major political parties. Appointments are made largely upon the personal requests of the members of the board. The compensation paid is five dollars per evening.

REGISTRATION RECORDS

The system of registration records is obsolete, clumsy, and involves a large amount of clerical work in the central office. Strangely enough, the original registration record itself is about the least important part of the system. When the voter registers, the data required is recorded in a bound volume. The volumes are not kept by precinct,

but by wards, and at any particular time there are a number of volumes, or registers, for each ward. Registrations are recorded in these in the order of the appearance of the voter. The registers are of the conventional type, with the record of the voter spread upon a line running across two pages, and recorded in columns. The information contained in the registers consists of the following: date, precinct, line no., page, name, signature, residence on April 1st, other designation of residence, occupation and place of business, place of birth, term of residence in the city, age, height, present residence.

After the registration is made the various data is copied on a card, which contains headings and spaces for the identical information. No further use is made of the original register, except in rare instances where some legal question arises about the registration of a voter. The registers are kept in the main office of the election board, and are never sent out to the polls on the days of election. No use whatever is made of the signature contained on the original registration record. When registration is conducted in the ward offices, one or two volumes of the ward register are sent out, but there are also other volumes for each ward kept at the central office so that the voter may register at either place.

The most important registration record consists of the printed list of voters for each precinct, which is used as the precinct register at the polls. Each year the central office makes up a street list of voters for each precinct, which is printed and constitutes the precinct register. There are two types of printed lists, known respectively as the "descriptive" and "non-descriptive" lists. The "descriptive" list contains the name, address, party affiliation, term of residence in the city, age, and height of the voter. The

"non-descriptive" list is printed from the same type, but before being bound, the items of length of residence, age, and height are cut off. The "non-descriptive" list is the one that is made available for public distribution, and the "descriptive" list is used at the polls as the official register.

These lists each year are prepared by taking the printed lists of the preceding year and correcting them up to date. The printed lists of the previous year are pasted into a set of large books prepared for the purpose and corrections are made by erasing the names of voters whose registrations have been cancelled, and by making notations to take care of new voters and transfers. The office does not maintain any official registration record arranged in the same order as the printed list of registered voters. The original register is entirely unworkable, except simply as a record of registrations which have been made. The registration cards made out for each voter are arranged alphabetically for the entire city, and thus constitute an index of the registered voters, but the cards are not withdrawn for cancelled registrations, and the index contains much dead weight. It is of little use, except as a history card. The voting record of every voter is recorded on the card, which takes up the time of the office force during the slack season.

PROCEDURE OF REGISTRATION

Registration is conducted at the main office of the board throughout the year, except twenty days prior to an election, when it is closed. During the slack months the board has restricted registration to Mondays only. For about ten days prior to the close of registration evening sessions are held in the various wards from six until ten o'clock. The sessions are moved around to several different places in the

ward during the period. It is estimated that about thirty percent of the total new registrations are taken in the wards and the remainder at the central office. The ward registration is conducted almost exclusively in school buildings.

There is no absentee registration. Since registration is permanent and may be made practically throughout the entire year at the main office, it is not necessary. Massachusetts has a literacy qualification for voting, which has been in effect since 1857. The applicant for registration must prove his literacy by reading an excerpt from the state constitution, printed on cards for the purpose. No difficulty is encountered in administering the literacy test, either at the ward offices or at the main office. Naturalized citizens are required to produce a record of their naturalization.

THE POLICE LISTING

The most interesting and suggestive feature of the registration system of Boston is the system of listing all adult residents during the first week of April of each year, which is done by the police. This takes the place of the canvass of registered voters used in other large cities. The police listing really amounts to a census of all residents over twenty years of age.

Most of the work is done by the day patrolmen, though some of the night patrolmen are also assigned to the work. Each patrolmen is assigned certain territory, which frequently falls within his own beat. He is required to go from house to house to make a list of all adult residents. Each resident is listed upon an individual card, which contains spaces to record the name, address, address on April first of the preceding year, probable age, suite no., male or female, name and address of informant, and number of the officer.

A remarks space is provided for additional notations. The patrolman is required to secure the information from some responsible person from every house or suite, where possible, but he is not required to see each resident in person.

The work is very thoroughly systematized and checked. A master file of green cards has been prepared, covering every building in the city. These cards are checked out to the patrolmen, and reports are required for each building. Each census is made anew, without any regard to the listing of the preceding year. The supervisory police officers check in the resident and building cards and inspect them at the time to see that they are filled in properly. Lieutenants or sergeants are assigned to cover lodging houses or places where difficulty is anticipated in making the listing.

The listing is usually completed within a week. The time required to conduct the listing in 1924 is indicated in the following table:

NUMBER OF POLICEMEN EMPLOYED IN LISTING²

April 1.....	1,288
2.....	1,260
3.....	1,106
4.....	705
5.....	333
7.....	14
8.....	4
<hr/>	
Total policeman-days.....	4,712

After the listing is completed, the cards are assorted by streets and numbers and turned over to a private firm to have two longhand written copies prepared. One copy is sent to the printer and "A List of Residents" is printed for each precinct. The other copy is used by the election office to check against the registration list.

²Report of the Police Commissioner, 1924, p. 15.

All registered voters who are listed at the address from which they are registered are continued on the registration lists. The registration of voters who have moved is transferred to the new address without any request from the voter. Eighty-six percent of the registered voters are retained on the registers after the listing is made. Voters who are not listed are notified through the mails, and after sufficient time has passed, their registration cancelled.

The listing of adult residents is also used to check up on the residence of newly registered voters. Before any applicant is registered the list of residents is inspected to ascertain whether the applicant was listed. A person who has not been listed is required to make an application for special listing, and these applications are turned over to the police for investigation. In 1924 some nine thousand persons were thus listed upon special application. Some of these were missed in the regular listing, while others moved into the city after the date of the census.

The advantages of the police listing, as used in Boston, over the conventional canvass of registered voters made by the precinct election officers, are: first, it is made by responsible officers, who are subject to discipline, and have a position to lose for failure to perform the work; second, it is closely supervised; third, the patrolmen are not selected by and subject to the orders of the precinct party captains; fourth, the system of making a census of all adult residents makes possible an easy check upon the completeness and accuracy of the work of the field officers and fifth, it makes possible the automatic transfer of the registration of voters who have moved.

No charges of partisanship are made against the police department. In some cities it might be unwise to place this work in the hands of the police, but

in Boston it works very well. The same system of listing all adult residents may be operated with other officers, however, without the use of the police.

COST OF REGISTRATION

The cost of registration in Boston is high in comparison with other cities having permanent registration. The largest item is that of the office force. The obsolete system of permanent records makes it necessary to have a large office force to perform the clerical work involved. The cost of registration alone in 1924 was \$143,739.36, or 58 cents each for the 247,636 registered voters, while the cost of the police listing, exclusive of the time of the patrolmen, was \$61,936.32, or 25.8 cents per registered voter. The total annual cost of registration and police listing per registered voter in 1924 was 83.8 cents. There is only a slight variation from year to year.

This is an unusually high cost for a system of permanent registration. Most other large cities with permanent registration have an average annual cost per registered voter of from ten to twenty-five cents. The principal items of the cost of the police listing are the preparation of the printer's copy and the printing of the lists, which might well be eliminated. The printed lists of residents are of little use in registration.

FRAUDULENT VOTING

There are no charges of fraudulent voting in Boston, not even in the lodging house, transient section of the city. There are two explanations which may

be offered: first, party machines, in the ordinary sense of the word, have broken down in Boston, except in three wards which are controlled by strong ward leaders; second, the system of police listing effectively cleans up the registration and prevents voting frauds. Both factors undoubtedly play a part, as well as a tradition which frowns upon voting frauds.

SUMMARY

The best feature of the Boston system of registration is the police listing. It is more useful and more thoroughly done than the usual canvass of registered voter, and is more effective in preventing padded registration. The police are not charged with partisanship in making the listing. Another good feature is the automatic transfer of the registration of voters upon the basis of the census, without the voter having to send in an application for a transfer, or attend to the matter in person. This makes it possible for the average voter to forget all about registration, after having once registered within the city, regardless of how much he may move. This system affords the highest amount of convenience to the voter.

Permanent registration in Boston is expensive due to the obsolete system of records and the unnecessary expenses of the police listing. The obsolete records are also inadequate for the use of the office, and make it impossible for the original record, including the signature, to be sent to the polls to identify the voter. These are the most serious defects of an otherwise excellent system.

STATE EXPENDITURES, TAX BURDEN AND WEALTH

A REVIEW OF THE REPORT OF THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE ON TAXATION AND RETRENCHMENT¹

BY HENRY F. WALRADT
Ohio State University

THIS report of the New York Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment maintains the high standard of work exhibited in their previous publications. It deals with the development of state activities since 1800 and the increase in public expenditures and taxation since 1850 in the state of New York, delves into the problem of the relation existing between the total amount of taxes collected and the ability of the people to pay, indicates the probable rate of increase in public expenditures in the near future, together with the effect which this may be expected to have upon the tax burden placed upon the people and closes with a reiteration of the various recommendations which the committee has already made relative to improvements which might be made in the New York tax system.

The report is divided into six chapters and four appendices.

The first chapter gives a summary of the important facts brought out in the report and the conclusions reached by the committee.

Chapter two deals with the development of the state activities of New York since 1850. This study shows that most of the functions performed

¹ State Expenditures, Tax Burden, and Wealth: A study of the functions and expenditures of the state government and the relation of total tax burden to the income of the people of the state. (Albany: New York State Legislative Document No. 68, 1926, pp. 157.)

by the state may be traced back to the nineteenth century and that since 1900 state activities have increased primarily in fields previously entered. It may surprise many to learn that the greatest diversification of state activity occurred during the years 1880-1900. The chief reason for the increase in governmental functions is stated to be the change in economic organization resulting from the development of commerce and manufactures. In 1880 the balance of population in New York changed from the rural to the urban districts. The growth of humanitarianism and the development of scientific knowledge were also important factors in bringing increased governmental action.

The third chapter analyzes the growth of public expenditures by functional groups since 1850 and shows the causes of the increase in expenditures. The actual expenditures have been corrected so as to put them on the basis of the 1913 dollar and the committee finds that "*the present volume of state expenditures represents no extraordinary or unnatural change in state development*".

FUTURE TAX BURDENS

Chapter four deals with the past and the probable future growth of the tax burden in New York. Charts and figures are presented showing the growth of federal, state, and local taxes paid in New York since 1850.

Three distinct trends in the average annual rates of growth of taxes paid by New York inhabitants appear as is shown in the following table:

Taxes Levied for	Percentage of Increase for Each Period			
	1850-1880	1880-1910	1910-1924	1850-1924
Federal government	8.3	2.1	24.5	5.9
New York state	11.2	4.5	11.7	5.7
Local governments in New York state	6.8	4.8	8.2	5.5
Total	7.9	3.8	14.8	5.6

A study of this table shows (1) the total burden of taxes has grown at the average rate of 5.6 per cent per annum for the entire period 1850-1924; (2) there has been little difference during this period in the average rapidity with which federal, state, and local taxes have expanded; (3) however, federal taxes have increased more rapidly than either state or local taxes, and the rate of increase for state taxes is slightly greater than that of local taxes; (4) the increase in the period 1910-1924 is principally due to the large increase in federal taxation; (5) the similarity in the rate of increase of state and local taxes in the periods 1850-1880 and 1910-1924 is striking. It should be noted that both of these periods involve a costly war and price inflation.

As for the future the committee concludes that the *rates of increase will within a few years return to the normal rates which obtained during the period 1880 to 1910.*

In the fifth chapter the question is raised as to whether or not the taxes

are increasing out of proportion to the capacity of the state to pay. The rate of growth of taxation is accordingly compared with that of (1) population,

(2) wealth, and (3) private income. Two other measures of tax burden are discussed (4) the ratio of total taxes to total income and (5) the rate of growth of per capita income.

INCOME AND TAXES

Since 1850 the total taxes have increased on the average three times as rapidly as the population and one and a half times as rapidly as the average rate of increase of tangible wealth per annum in the state. These two measures are set aside, however, as of little value and the rate of growth of income is examined. The following table is presented showing the annual rates of growth of income and tax burdens by periods for the years 1850-1924.

It thus appears that for the entire period (1850-1924) taxes have been expanding $1\frac{1}{6}$ times as rapidly as income. Assuming that the same relative rates of increase could be maintained in the future, taxes would absorb the entire income of the people at the end of three hundred years.

	Per Cent 1850-1880	Per Cent 1880-1910	Per Cent 1910-1924	Per Cent 1850-1924
Income of people of New York	4.2	4.3	8.3	4.8
Total tax bill (federal, state and local)	7.9	3.8	14.8	5.6

However, the report stresses the fact that during the period 1880-1910—the period in which there was no important war nor violent fluctuation in prices—income increased faster than taxes. It also alludes to its former conclusion that the rate of increase of taxes in the future may be expected to approximate that for the period 1880-1910 and calls attention to the fact that since 1920 the average annual rate of increase in per capita income measured in 1913 dollars has been considerably greater than the average which held during the period from 1880-1910.

The next measure of tax burden discussed is the per cent of total income absorbed by taxes. From this point of view the degree of sacrifice imposed upon the taxpayers from 1919 on has had no precedent in the state. Thus the ratio in 1850 was 3.8 per cent and in 1910 it was 7.4 per cent, whereas since 1919 it has been over 12 per cent every year rising to 19.5 per cent in 1921, falling, however, to 12.1 per cent in 1923.

The question is then raised as to whether the ratio of taxes to income is of much value as a measure for comparing tax burdens of different periods of time and the conclusion is that "this ratio taken by itself has in reality small significance". Although other factors than the ratio of taxes to income should be taken into consideration in reaching a final conclusion as to tax burden, the arguments given in support of the above statement are not conclusive.

The first argument is that a given per cent of a small income taken in taxes involves a greater hardship than the same per cent taken from a large income. This point is conceded when the income is so small that any tax encroaches upon the power to purchase the necessities of life. If, however,

such a minimum be exempted, no adequate proof has yet been given to show that the sacrifice involved in a proportional tax of all income above such exemption is not equal. The report merely asserts that because of the fact that the average income in New York was only \$103 in 1850, whereas it was \$952 in 1923, "taxes might well absorb a larger proportion of the taxpayer's income without entailing additional hardship". This statement is subject to two criticisms: (1) It is unfair to use \$952 in comparison with the \$103 because of difference in purchasing power of the dollar. A fairer comparison would be to correct the above figures by changing them to 1913 values in which case the average per capita income in 1850 would be \$114 whereas for 1923 it would be \$557.² (2) Instead of making a general statement as to the possibility of increased proportion of income being absorbed without entailing additional hardship, it seems more accurate to compare the actual per capita taxes for both years with the per capita income for both years in order that the degree of increase may first be known. The per capita tax in 1850 stated in 1913 dollars was \$4.34 whereas the per capita tax in 1923 on the basis of the 1913 dollar was \$67.94. In other words, although the average per capita income in 1923 was less than 5 times as large as that for 1850 (based on the pre-war dollar), the per capita tax in 1923 was 15.6 as large as the per capita tax in 1850. Even if the general proposition were conceded that as income increases the sacrifice involved in a given per cent being taken away in taxes is equal, no one would contend that the sacrifice decreases in any such degree as appears here.

² Cf. Table 29, p. 113, of the report.

HOW ARE TAXES SPENT?

The second argument given in support of the contention that the ratio of taxes to income is of "slight significance" as a measure for comparing tax burdens of different periods of time is that "the burdensomeness of taxes depends largely upon the purposes for which taxes are spent". This statement is true if interpreted to mean that if taxes were used in such a way as to increase production more than would have been the case if the money taken in taxes had been left in the hands of the taxpayers, the taxes involve no burden. As applied in the report, however, it is open to question. It is difficult to see, for example, how taxes expended for the care of defectives and delinquents are not a burden. Similarly, many of the expenditures and consequently taxes made in behalf of education are certainly a burden. Not that such expenditures are unwise; they may be not only socially desirable in themselves, but if the community can afford them should be made. This, however, is not the question. The question is whether or not such expenditures and the taxes caused by them are burdenless. The report assumes that these expenditures must be made by private individuals if they are not made by the government. Even if this assumption were correct, unless the government can furnish the service more efficiently and consequently at less cost than it could be obtained otherwise, such expense would involve an added burden. The truth is, however, that unless the government furnished many of the services that it does provide, many individuals would go without them. The government in taxing the people to provide these services in such cases adds to the burden of taxes, even although as stated above such increased burden may be socially justifiable.

The third argument given in connection with the point in question is that "taxes spent for interest and debt requirement do not constitute a subtraction from the fund of wealth available for investment in private enterprise" and that consequently the effect of taxes raised for such purposes is not the same as in the case of taxes spent for other purposes. Thus, the payments in connection with the federal debt caused by the World War constituting such a large proportion of the federal expenditures raise the ratio of taxes to income, but do not increase the tax burden because of the fact that such payments are merely a transfer of wealth from the taxpayers to the bondholders. This theory fails to differentiate between payments made on principal and payments for interest. There may be no social loss in connection with payments made on the principal of a public debt, assuming, of course, that the bondholders reside in the same jurisdiction that incurred the debt, but this does not follow in the case of interest payments. Such payments represent a social cost. Taxes tend to burden industry being either taken directly from industry or indirectly affecting it by reducing the purchasing power of the people. However, if these taxes are used for the payment of bonds, the money will probably return to industry. The bondholders wishing to keep their capital intact will tend to invest the money paid them by the government in industrial stocks and bonds to the extent that public debts are reduced. In the case of interest payments, however, the money received is very likely to be treated as current income and spent largely for consumption purposes rather than invested in production.

These criticisms are aimed at the presentation of the arguments as given in support of the contention that the

ratio of taxes to income *by itself* has slight significance in comparing relative tax burdens at different periods of time and not at the contention itself.

PER CAPITA INCOME AS A GUIDE

The measure presented as being the best guide in making a conclusion as to relative tax burdens at different times is the rate of increase of per capita income. If taxes become so high as to slow down industrial enterprise, such a fact should certainly make itself manifest by a decline in the rate of growth of private income. The rate of growth of private income during the years 1919-1923 during which the ratio of taxes to income reached such a high point was greater than at any other time in the history of New York, excepting for the decade 1880-1890. This seems to indicate that the *high taxes have not yet seriously affected private enterprise in the state*, or in other words that the limit of the state's taxable capacity has not yet been reached.

It seems well to point out here that this test would be of little value if the figures showed that the per cent of average growth of per capita income per annum were falling. Many other factors besides taxation enter into what this growth is and consequently there might be a decline in the rate of growth of per capita income without taxes having been at all responsible.

Chapter five concludes with a comparison of the urban and rural tax burden in which it is shown that rural taxes are more burdensome than urban taxes in New York caused by the fact that the burden of local government is heavier in the rural districts than in the cities.

In chapter six the committee reiterates the suggestions it has made in previous reports relative to improvement of the New York State tax system.

The report is remarkably free from errors, typographical or otherwise, so far at least as appears on the surface. The principal ones noted occur on page 113 of the report. In the last sentence of the text immediately preceding Table 29 the word "six" should be "five" and the figures "50 per cent" should be "35 per cent." In Table 29 the heading for the column of corrected income figures should read "Estimated Income at 1913 Values" instead of 1923 values. Of less importance is a very slight tendency to make the most of figures by giving the round number next above the exact figure. Two illustrations of this appear in the first paragraph of page 93. After stating that taxes for state purposes in New York had approximately tripled since 1914, the statement is made that local taxes increased in about the same ratio and that the burden of federal taxes borne by the inhabitants of the state had grown nearly seven fold. Both statements would have been more accurate if instead of giving the round number next above, the number next below had been used. Local taxes as a matter of fact increased at a ratio of 2.23 per cent or less than three-fourths of the ratio at which state taxes increased and the estimated burden of federal taxes increased six and a third times, or somewhat over six fold rather than nearly seven fold.

One looks in vain for the disclosure of leakages or even of wasteful expenditures and no constructive suggestions are made whereby greater efficiency would result at the same or with reduced cost. The report, however, presents an excellent picture of the development of state activities and expenditures and of the relation of the tax burden borne by the people of New York state and their capacity to pay. This picture is not only most

interesting in itself, but because of the financial importance of New York and the fact that it has been a leader in state activities, the conclusions that are reached as holding true in New York are probably true throughout the country. All persons inclined to believe that the activities of the state

are now expanding at an abnormal rate and that governmental expenditures are increasing so rapidly that the taxes necessitated threaten to crush private initiative should thoroughly study this report which is one of the best treatments of the subject of public expenditures that is now available.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, ITS DANGERS AND DEFECTS. By George Horwill. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1925. Pp. 149.

Not a few advocates of proportional representation content themselves with its application to a political unit not larger than a city and are opposed to its extension to the American state and to the nation. This is true of many P. R. advocates in Cincinnati, where it has been introduced on a larger scale than in Cleveland with its districts, candidates in Cincinnati being elected at large for the entire municipality. These men and women, too, feel that P. R. may be all right in a city like Cincinnati that with the exception of the negroes has no sectional groups of marked characteristics of race or religion, but unwise where such groups abound.

Mr. Horwill, it must be confessed, makes out a strong case against P. R. on a national scale, although many of his contentions can be successfully disputed, but taking the *status quo* in many of the inland cities of America and most of the cities of his native Britain it would appear that his strictures do not apply. The author, it should be said, however, in justice, does not stop at the *status quo* but confidently claims and attempts to show by citation of concrete experiences with P. R. that the system stimulates groups to self assertion, and fertilizes the soil for the growth of blocs.

He summons an array of evidence to sustain his contention that P. R. is a solvent of political parties on a broad community basis. He says it does not induce minorities to convert the majority, but encourages them to harp on one string. In this connection he says:

"While sectional minorities should be heard in order that injustice shall not be done them, it is of the utmost importance that they should not have direct representation in parliamentary government, because parliamentary legislation should be the expression of general social action."

The author does not believe that P. R. only has the effect of splitting political parties into factions and breaking down responsible government. He was long in America as Washington correspondent of British newspapers, and has criticised the legal regulation of American political parties as illustrated by statutory control

of primaries, and he has also commented adversely on our "ticket" system of nominees.

There is much valuable matter in the appendices to Mr. Horwill's book and quotations from such men as John Bright, Benjamin Disraeli, W. E. Gladstone, J. Ramsey MacDonald, and Austin Chamberlain, all against P. R. Friends and foes alike will find this book stimulating.

ALFRED HENDERSON.

Cincinnati, O.

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A SELECTION OF CASES ON THE LAW OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS. By Charles W. Tooke. Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1926. Pp. xliv, 1335.

There are not a few indications of the marked growth of various fields of public law such as administrative law, the law of public utilities, and the law of municipal corporations. The above selection of cases, dealing with the law of municipal corporations, illustrates in a concrete way the growth of one of these fields. A number of case books were available for short courses in municipal corporations—a subject occasionally offered in departments of political science or in schools of law. But interest in the subject has developed and the field has grown to such an extent within a score of years as to require the preparation of a case book along comparatively new lines. Building on the earlier works, Professor Tooke has prepared a very useful and serviceable volume of cases and illustrative extracts as a basis for a thorough course of instruction in this subject.

In the cases selected special consideration is given to new subjects, such as the framing of chargers (especially commission government and city manager types), to problems arising in connection with zoning and excess condemnation, and to provisions by cities for the public interest and general welfare under the police power. Frequently illustrative extracts are added to serve as a perspective for a consideration of the law as defined in the cases. Likewise departing from the usual practice in preparing collections of cases some suggestive dissenting opinions are included. The author evidently believes with Justice Hough that the law may occasionally, at least, be made or light may be thrown thereupon, in dissenting opinions. Frequently references are given to the standard

articles in the law reviews and to important text material as well as to model and suggestive statutes. And the value of the collection is enhanced by giving selected cases relating to some phases of administrative law, such as the law of officers and the law relating to extraordinary legal remedies for the protection of both private and public rights, as well as to the law relating to local taxation.

In every respect the volume is well planned as a source book and should serve as an invaluable guide in this field of law to both teachers and students. It will not only be of service to those who are making a special study of the subject of municipal corporations, but also to city attorneys and citizens who are seeking the standard cases which form the background of the modern law of municipal corporations. An index of the cases reported and of the cases cited add to the work's adaptability for such purposes.

The selection of cases emphasizes over and over again the limitations which surround American cities in attempting to deal with the difficult problems and conditions of modern urban life. There are few countries in which constitutional limitations and restrictions, express or implied, often broadly interpreted, confine public authorities to such an extent as is the case in this country. The result is a political mechanism based essentially on the theory that public officials are not to be trusted.

As one notes the cumulative effect of the legal delays and restrictions under which cities are governed and of the fields of operation which are denied to them due to the application of antiquated theories in no sense suited to the regulation of modern urban and industrial centers the query cannot but be raised whether the time has not come to develop theories and principles of government based to a greater degree on confidence in public officers. Perhaps the acceptance of such theories and principles would tend to bring into the public service a larger proportion of capable and disinterested public officials.

CHARLES GROVE HAINES.

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By Thomas Harrison Reed. New York:
The Century Company. 1926. Pp. 378.

This volume by Professor Reed is one of two studies which the Century Company has published to cover the field of American municipal

politics. Since the companion work by L. D. Upson deals with administration, Professor Reed has omitted that phase of the subject, save for a brief résumé. The scope of the work is thus comparable to that which Professor Munro has made familiar to all students of American municipal government in his text, *The Government of American Cities*. Professor Reed, however, has a different scale of values for determining the emphasis to be given to the various aspects of the field covered. For example, he gives greater attention to the historical development of American cities, devoting four interesting chapters to that subject in addition to the historical material in the chapters on commission government and the manager plan. He confesses in the preface, his conviction that political science must be rooted in history and tells of his early hope that the volume under consideration might have become a comprehensive and definitive history of city government in the United States. Although that plan was apparently altered, Professor Reed has given the most thorough and interesting treatment of the genesis of American Municipal institutions that has been published in any recent text book on the subject.

The author's interest in the genetic approach causes him to press his precedents for commission government back to the administration system adopted in New Orleans in 1870. When he deals with the city manager system, Mr. Reed, as a former city manager, might be expected to lift his voice in praise, in good reformist style, but this he does not do. He is exceedingly cautious in generalizing about the success of the manager plan. One wonders how much this is due to his philosophy of history and how much to the disillusion wrought by practical experience as city manager. Despite his avowal that there is no definite proof of the superiority of the manager plan he does hazard the optimistic conclusion: "It is hard . . . to avoid concluding that the plan on the whole has helped to produce the good and to better the bad. Faith in the manager plan awaits complete demonstration but it is reasonably supported by the facts as we know them."

The two chapters devoted to electoral problems contain excellent brief expositions of such proposed reforms as preferential voting (the Bucklin, Ware, and Nanson plans are described) compulsory voting, and proportional representation. The last mentioned topic constitutes a

chapter by itself and is a comprehensive brief review of the history of the proposal, the nature of the principal varieties, and of foreign and American experience.

On the subject of party organization Professor Reed presents a dilemma which he apparently feels is insoluble. While averring that "political organization is essential to the satisfactory working of democracy" and that "without it public opinion is most often a mere babble" he indicts the national parties as utterly unsuited to municipal politics and declares that municipal parties are practically out of the question since local issues are evanescent matters of expediency rather than of principle. Hence there is no foundation in city government for the establishment of permanent local parties even if based upon the time-honored distinction of conservation and radical. His pessimism at this juncture is out of key with the vigorous faith in conscious community control expressed in the opening chapter. Still Professor Reed believes that city politics in this country are to-day no worse than local politics in European cities, for he says: "On the average, American City politicians are not so very different from French, British or German politicians of the same rank. Forty years ago American municipal politics was an abnormal, to-day it is a perfectly normal, expression of democracy."

In the brief chapter on the perfection of administration the spirit of scientific observation is not fully sustained; for example, in discussing the public schools the suggestion that the present board system be displaced by an administrator selected by the head of the city administration is dismissed chiefly for the reason that it would destroy the present liaison between school and parent. What proof is there that the present board system creates such a liaison? The reviewer would suggest that the parent-teachers' association and the neighborhood club have been more responsible for such closeness of contact as now exists between the school management and the parent. Is there any good ground for thinking that these would be destroyed if the board system were to be displaced? One might challenge also the statement which occurs on pages 323 and 324 that the public "takes more interest in school elections than in city elections." How does Professor Reed measure interest? Certainly if the number of votes is used as a criterion the conclusion will have to be in the opposite direction.

Again, in discussing the problem of municipal revenues and the task of finding alternatives for the general property tax Professor Reed stops to slay the single tax, but omits to mention the income tax or the land increment tax which have been so successfully used by continental cities. Such an omission cannot be justified by the fact that this is a study of American municipal government only, for Professor Reed has very wisely and fruitfully used illustrative material from European experience all through his book.

The final chapter is an essay on the government of metropolitan areas, a problem which Professor Reed handles with much knowledge and insight. It closes with a hint that he has in store for us another book which will present a plan of readjustment for the areas of local government. Doubtless we may anticipate the expansion in it of the regional idea which he has propounded elsewhere.

It will appear from what has been said that the work under review is chiefly concerned with governmental structure. As an exposition of this aspect of municipal politics it is well done—a clear readable account. Yet aside from the historical material there is not a great deal after all which cannot be found in the comparable works of Munro, although one misses in Reed the spirit of jaunty omniscience which pervades the writings of Professor Munro. There is here little of that concern with the process of government which attracts the attention of Anderson in his study of city government. In the opinion of the reviewer Professor Reed will not achieve his desired objective until he has pushed his examination much more deeply into the social processes of city life.

CHARLES MCKINLEY.

REED COLLEGE.

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FEDERAL DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICE. By George Cyrus Thorpe. Kansas City: Vernon Law Book Co., and St. Paul: West Publishing Co. 1925. Pp. xi, 1027.

Much has been said and written in recent years concerning the expansion of governmental functions in the United States. Particular attention has been given to the problem of federal centralization. We have been reminded frequently of the dangers inherent in this encroachment upon the sphere of the states, and the consequent development of an administrative bureaucracy in Washington, exercising regulatory

powers over the lives and property of individual citizens. Despite these warnings, each succeeding congress imposes some new responsibility upon the national administrative system, which touches more or less intimately a large portion of the people. A considerable number of these newer activities are regulatory in character, but much of the work of our national administrative agencies lies in the field of promotion—the giving of advice, information, and assistance. It is important, therefore, that the citizen be accurately informed with respect to the nature and extent of both control and service functions. His task is made more difficult because of the increasing number of administrative agencies, their haphazard development, the illogical grouping of services in departments, and numerous differences in practice and procedure.

Mr. Thorpe has prepared this volume with the needs of the citizen and his legal representative in mind. It is his express purpose "to show the executive agency of the federal government chargeable with the particular business in which a citizen may be concerned and to indicate the procedure involved therein." In furthering his purpose, the writer presents a description of the history, activities, organization, rules admitting attorneys to practice, procedure, and publications of the several departments, independent establishments, international commissions, and the court of claims. Special attention is paid to those bureaus and agencies, such as the bureau of internal revenue, the bureau of pensions, the patent office, the bureaus of immigration and naturalization, the interstate commerce commission, the board of tax appeals, the federal trade commission, and the court of claims, whose activities bring them into frequent contact with the individual citizen.

Charts and outlines assist the reader in visualizing the extent and character of departmental and bureau organization. Extensive footnotes

refer to statutes, executive orders, and administrative regulations as the chief sources of information. A copious index enhances the serviceableness of the volume as a reference manual.

The first chapter, which deals with the powers of the president, is brief and not entirely satisfactory, though admittedly not an essential part of the volume. A formal statement of powers, without comment or explanation, often results in error or confusion. The author cites section 1768 of the revised statutes (the amended tenure of office act) as one of the presidential powers, although this section was definitely repealed by act of March 3, 1887 (24 Stat. L. 500). The veto power is quoted from the constitution, without reference to the practice concerning concurrent resolutions, and the act of 1913 (37 Stat. L. 913) with respect to participation in international conferences is cited without comment as to its doubtful constitutionality. The historical material presented in each chapter seems to lack a definite plan of organization. The department of agriculture is given comparatively slight attention, although its regulatory and research activities are of immediate concern to a large number of citizens.

Professor Freund, in a lecture given before the St. Louis Bar Association a few years ago, made this significant statement: "If the American lawyer takes an increasing interest in Administrative Law it is because he associates it with the fact that he has more and more occasion to attend to the interests of his clients in government departments and before commissions which claim to administer law without pretending to be courts of justice." Lawyers engaged in such practice, as well as students of public administration, will find Mr. Thorpe's volume of inestimable service as a reliable guide and sourcebook.

LLOYD M. SHORT.

University of Missouri.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

EDITED BY ARCH MANDEL

Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The Institute, at the request of the council of the township of East York, made a survey of their financial limitations. This included a report on what capital expenditure, in the opinion of the Institute, can safely be proceeded with. The survey has been completed and the report based thereon has been presented and was given considerable notice in the press.

The Fourth Annual Convention of the Canadian Tax Conference is being held in Winnipeg on September 28 and 29, under the auspices of the Winnipeg Board of Trade.

The Institute has completed its assessment survey of the municipality of Timmins, Ontario. This survey was undertaken at the request of the council of the municipality.

*

Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Bureau has for a number of years felt convinced that great savings could be effected by a thorough-going survey of the civic service and has repeatedly pressed for action along these lines. The council has now appointed a civic salary commission.

Preparations are being made for the Ontario Municipal Association convention, which will be held in Toronto the first three days in September. The director of the Bureau is secretary of the association. Arrangements have been made to have the mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, address the members of the association on the city manager plan of government.

*

Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.—Harry W. Steinbrook, Esq., graduate of the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, has joined the professional staff of the Philadelphia Bureau. He has been engaged especially to assist in a study of the method of recording deeds, mortgages, and other instruments, in the office of the recorder of deeds of Philadelphia county, with a view to discovering whether the recording is being done as cheaply and expeditiously as possible, and if not, what improvements can be suggested.

George E. Worthington, Esq., director of the department of legal measures of the American Social Hygiene Association, has been retained by the Philadelphia Bureau to assist in the survey of the Philadelphia municipal court, which the Bureau is making as the agent for the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation. He is studying the men's misdemeanants' division of the court, and the probation work done with men and women convicted of crime.

*

Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware.—The latest addition to the number of agencies engaged in government research is the Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware, which began operations on August 1, with headquarters in Wilmington. The announcement of the new organization contains two features of special interest. First, the organization will engage in research in the triple field of state, county and local government throughout the state, offering its assistance to all public officials and to all other organizations with any civic interest, and endeavoring to inform taxpayers about the operations of the various units of government. Second, a systematic effort will be made to popularize the work of the League by stimulating the interest and understanding of taxpayers, both for their financial and moral support.

To this end, the board of trustees, which includes bankers, lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and women, has been drawn from all parts of the state with a view to unifying the League with all other organized civic interests, through whose cooperation a large membership for the League can be built up.

The officers are Edward W. Cooch, prominent Wilmington attorney, president; Landreth L. Layton, leading merchant of Georgetown, and Walter W. Hynson, cashier of the Fruit Growers National Bank and Trust Company of Smyrna, vice-presidents; and Haldeman C. Stout of Wilmington, president of the State Bankers' Association, treasurer.

Russell Ramsey has been appointed director of the League. Mr. Ramsey has been a member

of the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia since 1920, and since 1921 he has been secretary of the Bureau, which office he resigned on August 1 to accept the new directorship.

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Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.—*The Rochester Bureau has hit upon a novel method of assuring a sympathetic electorate under the new charter. Within the past year five prospective voters have been born to the families of five of the seven members of the Bureau staff. They are in the order of their arrival:*

Raymond Peter VanZandt
Mary Emily Dalton
Martha Savage Story
Hugh McLean Pratt
Donald Everett Higgins

Other research agencies please take note.

★

National Institute of Public Administration, New York.—Bruce Smith has been retained by

the New York State Crime Commission, appointed by Governor Smith, to conduct a survey of municipal police administration in New York State. Buffalo will be the first city surveyed.

Studies of other large cities throughout the state will follow. The work has already begun and will continue beyond the first of the year.

A. E. Buck is making a tour of cities, including Columbus, Indianapolis, Springfield, Illinois, Milwaukee, Madison, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Rochester. He is collecting material for a new book on budget making.

The report on Metropolitan Police Systems of Missouri, by Bruce Smith, is being published as a separate pamphlet by Macmillan, and will be off the press in a few days. Copies may be secured from the Missouri Association of Criminal Justice, Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Missouri.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

EDITED BY JOHN BAUER

Public Utility Consultant, New York City

Regulation of Buses and Motor Trucks.—The Interstate Commerce Commission has started its investigation into the motor bus and truck business, with the purpose of reporting to congress its findings of fact and recommending any needed legislation to place the rapidly expanding operation under proper regulation.

Hearings are to be held in principal cities in different parts of the country so that all interested parties will have an opportunity to present the situation as they see it. At this writing, the hearings have just been concluded in Chicago, and are to be continued in St. Paul. Other places of hearings are, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Detroit, Boston, New York, Asheville, N. C., Dallas, Kansas City, and Washington, D. C.

The immediate objective is to determine the extent that motor buses and trucks have come into competition with the railroads and have cut into railway traffic and earnings, and how these new developments shall be treated in our transportation system. These are extremely difficult questions of fact and policy, about which there will be sharp differences of opinion both because of difference in interest and variation in personal point of view. The Interstate Commerce Commission is certainly the most suitable agency to make the extremely desirable survey.

The data collected to date indicate that the motor trucks have probably affected railway revenues more than the buses. In the passenger business apparently the private automobiles have made much the greater inroads upon railway traffic. As might be expected under such circumstances, the trucking interests appear to be more unitedly opposed to federal regulation than are the bus owners. The railroads doubtless will present their point of view fully as to facts and the kind of regulation needed from their standpoint.

There is a third point of view, however, which should be as thoroughly presented as that of the motor and railway interests,—that of the public at large. Presumably the commission itself will assume the responsibility of regarding the gen-

eral public side, but other public groups should appear and present their experience. Many municipalities, counties, civic associations and state commissions have struggled with the problem, and it is to be hoped that they will come forward with all available facts and ideas that may contribute to better understanding and the development of sound policy.

The present writer considers the investigation a matter of great public concern, and sees the possibility of an effective program. We have collected considerable data which we expect to present at the New York and perhaps other hearings. If we can be of service to any municipality or civic organization, we shall gladly present any special facts before the commission. We hereby suggest that they communicate with this Department, and we shall give the matter the best possible attention without any cost to them. We shall deem it an opportunity to assist in presenting the public side in the investigation.

†

The Boston Idea on Telephone Rates.—The city of Boston, after contending for a long time as other cities have done before the local state commission, has decided that the proper course is to bring the whole question of reasonable telephone rates before the Interstate Commerce Commission for investigation on a broader basis than is possible before any local commission. It has filed complaint with the commission as to rates and practices and expects to have the entire intercorporate relationships thoroughly examined. The papers were filed by Frank S. Deland, corporation counsel, E. Mark Sullivan, special counsel, and Samuel Silverman, assistant corporation counsel.

There have been telephone rate fights in a large number of cities during the past few years, and the results have never been satisfactory to the municipal authorities. The difficulty has been that every local company is only an operating unit of the large Bell System controlled by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The operating expenses in no case could be clearly and directly presented be-

cause to a large extent they reflect charges made by the controlling company or other subsidiaries over which the particular commission had no jurisdiction. Thus there has been repeated litigation over the famous 4½ per cent provision and the bills from the Western Electric Company, but the exact facts as to costs and returns have never been satisfactorily determined. The local costs and profits have been inextricably intermingled with the system, and the total operations have never been brought under investigation.

The fact has been called to public attention repeatedly that, while the individual companies are shown to be, one by one, receiving inadequate returns, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has been doing very well—where the discrepancy? It appears, therefore, that, as Boston is proposing, the rational course is not to look particularly to the local companies whether they are obtaining proper returns, but to make a system investigation and to determine whether in the aggregate excessive returns have been realized. When the total cost and the total fair return have been established, the apportionment to individual companies will largely take care of itself on a fair and equitable basis.

Incidentally, the investigation will include also the financial policies of the system, the methods of security issues, the cost of financing, the use of funds, etc. The purpose is to bring what is conceived to be the largest trust under proper regulation. The opposition is not against monopoly in telephones, but to keep a necessary monopoly under public regulation. While Boston has initiated the action, it considers the move of country wide importance and expects other cities to join in the proceedings.

*

Cleveland Municipally-Owned Utilities.—The City of Cleveland seems to have succeeded admirably in putting at least one of its municipally-owned and operated utilities upon a sound financial basis. The 1925 reports for the division of light and power and the division of water and heat were recently issued by the director of public utilities, Mr. Howell Wright. They present the financial conditions and the results of operation in clear tabular statements and give a simple analysis for the understanding of the ordinary person for whom the facts are intended. In the light and power division the data are stated particularly along approved modern statistical and accounting lines.

In the light and power division, the total cost

of furnishing electricity is fully presented. It includes not only all operating expenses but also taxes and interest on investment. The operating expenses make liberal provisions for maintenance and especially depreciation. Full charges are made both for taxes, although none are actually paid, and interest on the investment. There are thus included all the costs normally incurred by private electric light and power companies and full comparisons can be made with such companies operating under similar conditions.

The total sales amounted to 121,500,000 kw. hrs. The average cost, including operating expenses, taxes and interest on investment, amounted to 2.07 cents per kw. hr. sold. For generating alone, the total was 1.07 cents. These results compare very favorably with the best obtained under private operation. They must be compared, however, not with large companies, but with rather small modern units. The total plant capacity is only 50,000 kw. and the largest single generating unit has only 15,000 kw. capacity.

The importance of the plant is not in the total service, but in the competition furnished to the private company serving the city of Cleveland. The rates charged by the latter naturally cannot be higher than the city department rates. But these average only 2.33 cents per kw. hr. and at that cover the full cost of service as well as a profit of \$320,000. Moreover, the commercial lighting rates averaged only 3.5 cents per kw. hr. and municipal street lighting 2.1 cents. The report states that the city of Cleveland has the lowest domestic lighting rates in the United States.

The city has not only set a general standard of rates to which the much larger private operation has conformed, but has also greatly reduced the *differential* between the low rates for large commercial or power loads and the domestic lighting rates. While the latter are, naturally, higher, they are not out of all reasonable proportion as happens frequently in private systems. There is usually no sound reason in the wide difference, which sometimes reaches a ratio of 4:1 domestic lighting rates to average total cost of service.

The city department has provided for a sound financial set-up in every important respect. The property accounts reflect actual cost, and the depreciation reserve during the past year has been completely adjusted to present conditions. The reserve thus amounts to 29 per cent of the

total cost of the properties. For generating plant and equipment, the percentage of recognized depreciation is 45 per cent. The annual rate of depreciation is 7.5 per cent production system, 4.25 per cent transmission system and 3½ per cent distribution system. This is a standard of accounting and financial control which is equalled by few companies whatever their size and financial strength.

There are, however, some minor matters in the report that might be clearer or more completely presented for public enlightenment. The rate schedule is not given so no direct comparison of rates as to particular classes of consumers can be made with private companies. On page 3 cost data are given separately for generating system, transmission system and distribution system. These figures, however, do not check with the total costs in the income and expense statement of Exhibit "B"; reconciliation would be helpful to the statistically minded.

Turning to the division of water and heat, the report frankly admits that the management is not on a satisfactory administrative nor on sound financial basis. The department is seeking to correct the situation by providing an adequate and safe water supply, introducing modern business and accounting methods, and basing rates upon established cost of service. The rates in general appear to be too low, and in particular classes of service they are said to be less than cost. This applies particularly to the heating service and to water supplied the suburban districts.

*

Basis of Return Upon Railroad Properties.—The Interstate Commerce Commission has conducted hearings and received arguments during July on the so-called Kelly report, which has an unusual volume of significance to those interested in sound and administrable methods of regulation.

The Interstate Commerce Act as amended by the Transportation Act of 1920, provides for the recapture by the Interstate Commerce Commission of 50 per cent of any company's net railway earnings above 6 per cent upon the value of the property devoted to railroad uses. The provision was established in recognition that a workable schedule of rates must be based upon wide territorial requirements, and that many companies are compelled to operate under the same rates notwithstanding great differences in

density of traffic and unit cost of operation. The purpose, therefore, was to reserve for defined public purposes a large part of the net excessive income due primarily to a recognized level of rates rather than to particular superiority of operation on the part of any company.

The desirability of such a provision was discussed and approved by economists many years before its adoption in the regulatory policy of the country. But its statutory establishment was but the first step to its effective incorporation in the machinery of railway control. There was first the attack upon general constitutional grounds: How can a company's earnings be taken when they were based upon rates approved by legal authority? The answer was direct and definite in the so-called Goose Creek Railroad case. The supreme court took a sound economic view, recognizing the fundamental facts upon which railway rates are based, and approved the new provision.

This was a signal victory for sensible regulation. It practically leaves the legislative branch of government free to fix any special policy or procedure which seems desirable on public grounds and does not bring actual confiscation or unfair treatment upon the companies. After the decision, however, came the next important and baffling problem: How to get a workable basis for readily measuring the excessive earnings to be taken for public purposes? The Kelly report is the answer offered to the question. It proposes to take as a starting point the valuations as fixed under the valuation act; and then add actual additional investment in properties on the basis of the accounts prescribed by the commission. These valuations have been based upon pre-war costs or prices, and are made mostly as of 1914 and 1916. The Kelly proposal would thus make no allowance for the great price increases during and after the War, except so far as additional construction and equipment were installed at the higher levels. It would provide for a definite method of keeping the valuations up to date on a modern accounting basis, and would furnish an exact and readily administrable machinery by which the public capture of excess earnings may be carried into effect.

Now, however, the constitutionality of the plan is assailed as well as its direct legality under the Interstate Commerce Act. The latter provides that in fixing the value upon which the return shall be based, the commission shall take into consideration all the elements of value,

and does not prescribe the proposed limited basis of valuation. There is also the more fundamental constitutional question whether congress can limit the valuation as proposed without giving effect to the higher price level of recent years. There is thus a further legal battle, doubtless to be long drawn-out, before a manifestly sensible idea can be followed by the commission.

It is, of course, to be hoped that, first, the commission itself will adopt the Kelly report and that, secondly, the supreme court will give its final constitutional sanction. It is impossible to conceive how the already constitutionally approved principle of recapture can be carried practically into effect except through the Kelly plan. If a new appraisal must be made every time the question of recapture comes up, with the usual struggle of determining the "fair value," the policy will be hopelessly strangled in the confusion of administration. The publicly available sums would probably be more than consumed in the endless litigation over facts and methods.

The Kelly plan has been largely supported before the commission on the grounds of "fairness" to the public; that it would avoid an otherwise unjust "value" aggregating \$15,000,000,000 for the country at large. The public would be required to pay a return on this tremendous sum which represents no actual investment. Apart from this view, however, there is the glaring fact that the Kelly way is the only workable way. Otherwise, the whole object of the recapture provision will be aborted through the impossibility of performing the expected job.

If the Kelly plan is finally approved—by commission, lower court, supreme court—there will still be a final round in the battle for common sense in railroad regulation. The recapture provision has to do only with earnings realized from rates approved by the commission and has nothing directly to do with the basis of establishing the rates. As to this fundamental matter, the commission has as yet, so far as I know, taken no forward step in line with the Kelly report. There is yet no recognized basis of rates, other than the shamanistic "fair value." While the commission may give due consideration to the valuations made under the valuation act, and while such valuations may serve as *prima facie* evidence, yet the sum to be taken as the general rate base is the "fair value" which has not been freed from the long established incantation quoted from *Smyth v. Ames*.

The Kelly report must not only be taken as the basis of public recapture of excessive earnings of individual companies, but its underlying idea must be applied to the entire policy and procedure of railway rate regulation, if the purposes of the Interstate Commerce Act as now expressed in law are not to be defeated through sheer impossibility of administration. In the interest of the practical working of the law, an amendment is necessary, making the Kelly plan the outright basis of all rate regulation as well as financial dealings with the companies. In this way the whole problem would be brought to the supreme court on the broadest constitutional grounds, and the case of effective regulation could be decided with the facts and conditions fully presented in the light of the regulatory problem.

*

Land Values and Railroad Rates.—The general basis of railroad rates has been up for public discussion not only as to the Kelly report, but has been further considered before the Interstate Commerce Commission in individual valuations of particular properties. The general methods were outlined in the early Texas Midland case, but they have been challenged in practically every subsequent case and probably will be subject to reconsideration until the final valuations in all cases will have been fixed.

In general, the basis of valuation represents reproduction cost of road and equipment at average pre-war prices, less depreciation, and adjacent land values for right-of-ways and other railroad land. The results of this combination of methods are claimed by the commission to reflect the average costs of the twenty years preceding the date of valuation, and would thus represent the normal actual cost of the properties. This view might well be fairly held as to road and equipment but hardly applies to land. For this important element, the 1914 or 1916 values were everywhere much greater than in 1900, and very much greater than actual investment by the companies. The commission's apparently attempted justification of its methods challenges serious criticism on public grounds.

Such criticism, however, becomes especially significant if the idea of the Kelly report is not adopted for future rate regulation. If the 1914 or 1916 adjacent values are permanently incorporated in the railroad rate base, without further increases as adjacent land values continue upward, perhaps no serious criticism could be made of the commission's procedure, at best so far as

most properties are concerned. But if future increases are to be taken into the rate base, then the method should be challenged on every ground of public expediency. There is not only the question of justice to the public, but the grave problem of effective regulation from the stand-point of workable administration and sound financial structure. All these considerations require a fixed and definite future rate base subject to modern accounting control.

The problem of fairness to the public assumes special significance in the case of particular companies whose properties include a large proportion of urban lands. In the ordinary case of the commission's valuation, the percentage of land (on the adjacent land value basis) to the total found value, has been about 10 per cent, which, whatever the equities, is not a dominant element and would have small effect on the general rate structure. In the case of such properties as those of the Long Island Railroad Company, however, the situation even as of 1916 is very different. This company operates through the great Metropolitan district of New York, and consequently in the tentative valuation the land constitutes 35 per cent of the total valuation. This now is a significant element and does affect materially the general rate level. Is the basis just to the public?

This question assumes particular significance in the commutation rate case now before the two New York commissions. The Long Island Railroad company is seeking a 20 per cent increase in commutation rates to New York city. In presenting proof of value for the rate base, it has appraised all right-of-ways and lands on the basis of present adjacent land values. The territory served has developed tremendously

during the past ten years, and there is no doubt that on the average present adjacent values are three to five times greater than at the date of the I. C. C. valuation. The company's claim value is thus almost three times the I. C. C. 1916 figures, and, apparently, would amount to over 50 per cent of the total claimed value for railroad purposes.

The fairness issue is thus sharply raised. The I. C. C. 1916 land value for railroad purposes was, in round figures, \$33,000,000; the claimed value in 1926 is about \$98,000,000 for practically the same properties. On what grounds of "fair value," it may be well asked, should the public be asked to pay a return on the additional \$65,000,000, which represents no direct investment or sacrifice on the part of the company? The question has special force in this case, since the development of the territory is due primarily to public factors and not to efforts on the part of the company. Moreover, it is doubtful whether any considerable railroad enterprise would ever be undertaken if 50 per cent of the investment were required for land, or that any large railroad today can practically be operated on such a financial basis. The city of New York and the commuters are thus attacking the fundamental basis of land valuation; they believe that it leads to absurd results and cannot be taken as a measure of "fair value."

This case illustrates admirably the problem of land valuation where the railroad land, on the basis of adjacent land values, would constitute a large proportion of the total "found value. This particular angle has not been sufficiently discussed before the commission and seems to have received little direct consideration in the adoption of methods.

NOTES AND EVENTS

Thirteenth Annual Convention of City Managers' Association.—The City Managers' Association will hold their thirteenth annual convention at Colorado Springs the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of this month. It is expected that the attendance will exceed two hundred. The convention will be preceded by a trip through Yellowstone Park for those managers and their families who are able to make the excursion.

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Mayor Samuel A. Carlson. who is serving his eighteenth consecutive year as head of the city government of Jamestown, New York, was unanimously elected president of the New York State Conference of Mayors for the year 1926-27. Mr. Carlson, who is an old member and officer of the National Municipal League, is well known for his progressive attitude towards municipal problems. He is a strong advocate of the city manager plan of government.

*

Tax Classification up in Illinois.—In November the voters of Illinois will pass upon an amendment to Article IX of the state constitution to permit the classification of property for tax purposes. The state constitution now requires that all property be taxed uniformly in proportion to its value. The Illinois Teachers' Association and the League of Women Voters are behind the amendment which they assert follows out the model tax plan of the National Tax Association. Undoubtedly little progress in tax reform can be made in Illinois until the uniform rule is abrogated.

*

"As an Economic Measure city planning is a savings bank for the city's funds," states Fred E. Reed of Oakland, California, in a study made for the National Association of Real Estate Boards. Cities that have not planned show vast expenditures for necessary street widenings while cities, such as Washington, Houston, and Salt Lake City, adequately planned for future expansion, have streets of sufficient width and have saved enormous sums through not having to undertake expensive street openings and widenings.

The Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, which conducted the Wisconsin Better Cities Contest last year, has published the complete scoring schedule used in the contest. The title of the handbook is "How Good is Your Town?" At present it is being completely revised for use again in the cities during the coming winter. Aubrey W. Williams, general secretary of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, Madison, Wisconsin, is in charge of the revision and will be glad to receive suggestions intended to improve the present instrument as a means of measuring the efficiency of municipal government.

*

City Manager Appointments.—After a series of vicissitudes including a court contest over the validity of the charter, Austin's (Texas) new city commission has organized and chosen Adam R. Johnson, former member of the board of control and a successful merchant, as city manager.

The position of manager of Knoxville, Tennessee, made vacant recently by the resignation of Louis Brownlow, has been filled by the appointment of Charlton Karns to the office. Newspapers report that Mr. Karns, a resident of Knoxville with a long and successful business career, was elected by the votes of the majority councilmen who had supported Mr. Brownlow. It will be recalled that Mr. Brownlow resigned recently because of ill health coupled with the political abuse which he had been receiving from disaffected factions.

*

The Ohio Vote on Special Assessments Amendment To Aid City Planning.—The voters of Ohio on August 10 rejected a proposed constitutional amendment permitting municipalities to meet the full cost of property acquired for a public improvement by special assessments upon private property benefited by the improvement. The present constitution permits the payment of but one half the cost of acquiring such property. The amendment was sponsored as an aid to city planning since it would make possible the acquisition of land for street widenings and openings by assessment on property benefited.

The Ohio State Grange actively fought the

amendment. One reason given was the fact that the text was so phrased that municipalities might acquire parklands outside their boundaries and assess the cost on the abutting rural real estate. *Greater Cleveland*, published by the Cleveland Citizens' League, states that the amendment was made necessary by the action of the chairman of the committee on cities in the 1912 constitutional convention who took advantage of his position to introduce the 50 per cent limitation. Under this limitation street openings and widenings to meet pressing traffic needs are practical impossibilities.



Detroit Attacks Vice Problem of a Boom Town.—Detroit is applying the research bureau method to solution of the vice problem, in a way that may set some new precedents, if the program as started is carried through. Because it is a "boom" city industrially, and for other plausible reasons, Detroit has become in the past four years one of the worst cities on the continent in its harboring of the social evil. Last winter representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association, in co-operation with a small group of local citizens, accepted the task of a complete survey and report, with recommendations.

The report, after four months of under-cover work, was accepted by sixty representative citizens, representing a score of civic, social, and religious organizations, and simultaneously, but absolutely without publicity, was handed to Mayor John W. Smith, for the information of himself and all other officials charged with any degree of responsibility for action. By careful manoeuvering and private conferences the question was "broken open" without a blaze of sensational publicity. Instead of a "moral reform" in which politics plays a major part, the citizens have adopted the view that responsibility for recognized evils must rest on the entire city. They have pledged the mayor, police, judges, *et al.*, full co-operation and from now on will expect sincere, determined, and continuous action on the part of those same officials.

An incident of the public announcement of the facts contained in the report was the resignation of the police commissioner, Frank H. Croul, and the appointment of his former superintendent, William P. Rutledge, as his successor. In meeting the new conditions and launching the program for improvement the mayor is advised by Solon Rose, as investigating engineer; Mr. Rose was formerly on the staff of the Bureau of Govern-

mental Research, but since July 1 has been on the city payroll as adviser to the mayor.

The delicate question of premature publicity, in connection with the organization of the citizens' committee and the release of the report, was handled by agreement among all citizens concerned that they, collectively and individually, would refuse to say a word for publication, at any time, but would refer all questions to Mayor Smith, to be answered by him and his associates after they had received the facts contained in the report. The citizens' committee, having arranged for sub-committees on law enforcement, courts, and legislation, will quietly study conditions, take action in line with recommendations submitted by the report of the American Social Hygiene Association, confer and co-operate with public officials, and finally see that the clean-up job is done with thoroughness even though it may require a long time.

W. P. LOVETT.



Cincinnati's Charter Revision Committee at Work.—At the time the city charter amendment which was adopted in November, 1924, was being prepared, its proponents appreciated the fact that many more things in the charter should be changed but it was felt inadvisable to attempt to cover too much in a single amendment. In consequence the amendment as drawn altered but one section and substituted for a council of thirty-two, twenty-six of whom were elected by wards and six at large, a council of nine elected at large by proportional representation, and a city manager to be chosen by this council. To provide for the other necessary changes, a provision was placed in the amendment to the effect that if the amendment carried, six months after the new council had been in office a Charter Amendment Commission should be appointed to revise the charter as a whole. The charter amendment carried, a new council was elected the following year and this council completed its first six months of service on the 30th of June, 1926.

At its first meeting in July, the council selected Robert A. Taft, former speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives and son of President William H. Taft, a Republican in national politics and a person who had neither been an opponent nor a supporter of the city charter amendment; Robert Gorman, the city solicitor of the villages of Elmwood and Cheviot, Hamilton County, Ohio, a Democrat in national

politics and one who had supported the city charter amendment; and Henry Bentley, who was the chairman of the Campaign Committee for the city charter amendment, and chairman of the Campaign Committee in the election of the nine councilmen, and who is president of the City Charter Committee, to be the charter amendment commission. All three of these gentlemen are lawyers of high standing in the community and it can be seen that all political elements in the community are represented.

At its first meeting, the charter revision committee selected Mr. Bentley as chairman and employed Howard L. Bevis, professor at the Law School of the University of Cincinnati, as its secretary. The committee has been holding daily meetings and devoting practically its entire time to the proposition of getting the charter in shape to be presented to council. The report of the committee will be noted in next month's REVIEW.

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Governor Smith's Report on State Finances.—For the past year or two Governor Smith has followed the policy of reporting to the people upon the financial condition of the state in words which they were able to understand. Nobody knows how much money is wasted in the United States in the preparation and printing of public reports which are intelligible to no one; often they have little meaning to the compilers themselves. The New York governor is therefore to be congratulated for taking a leaf from the book of some of the banks who in their advertising have interpreted their financial statements for the man in the street.

Governor Smith undoubtedly took particular pleasure in issuing his report this year because, in spite of tax reductions amounting to \$30,000,000, he is able to show a prospective cash surplus of \$15,000,000 at the end of the present fiscal year.

For those interested in the subject of governmental reporting we reproduce below the summary statement taken from the governor's report:

On July 1, 1925, the state owed its bondholders.....	\$318,456,000
Since July 1, 1925, we paid back to the bondholders.....	2,936,000
On July 1, 1926, our total indebtedness to our bondholders was.....	315,520,000
In addition to the above, we owe on temporary loan certificates sold in advance of the sale of	

bonds for park purposes and building improvements.....	\$1,305,000
To meet the above indebtedness, the state had in its sinking funds on July 1, 1926.....	94,959,357
(<i>Money in the sinking fund is equivalent to money in bank drawing interest.</i>)	
Annual deposits made to this fund from the receipt of taxes will meet all the bonds at their maturity.	
On July 1, 1926, the actual and estimated income from taxation and all other sources of revenue available to pay the expense of the state was.....	209,580,107
From this we will have to pay out for the expenses of the state the amounts appropriated by the last legislature and also those remaining from previous years..	
Taking the amount of our expenditures from our income, actual and estimated, we will have a free cash surplus of.....	194,287,117
(<i>This is the state's bank account against which amount there are no claims or liabilities.</i>)	
Nobody denies that heavy taxation has added considerably to the cost of living and the government should, therefore, not take from the taxpayer more than is required to meet the absolute needs of the state in a given year. Having this in mind, we continued the 25 per cent. reduction and granted further exemptions to all the payers of an income tax and by this saved them.....	20,500,000
Also, by a reduction in the direct tax on real and personal property we saved taxpayers.....	10,397,610
All of the above means that ample appropriation was made to meet the state's indebtedness, take care of every activity of the government, return \$30,897,610 to the taxpayers and have in the bank as against the day of need a clear surplus in excess of \$15,000,000.	
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Iowa Municipal Assessors Organize. —The average citizen regards the assessor as a decrepit, incompetent pensioner—filling his office for want of better occupation. Such was the impression gained by the writer prior to the First Annual Convention of Iowa Municipal Assessors held at Waterloo on July 26 to 28. The first day of the gathering changed that impression. At the time scheduled for registration, assessors from the larger cities met and held live discussions on office equipment. In the afternoon, the program called for a short session with adjournment	

at 3 o'clock for a baseball game, but the assessors continued in session the entire afternoon—and the entire atmosphere of the convention may be characterized as marked by a deep interest in problems of assessment and a desire to improve methods of assessment generally.

The actual administration of the office proved to be a revelation in diversity. Bank stock valuations range from 33 per cent to 65 per cent, "real value" of property varies from 40 per cent to 100 per cent; and a like range for other classes of assessable property. Exemptions were discussed and the opinion was expressed that there were too many exemptions which were "political" rather than "legal." It was pointed out that in many cases exemptions were granted to individuals and organizations who were entirely able to contribute to the public revenue. Means employed in evading assessment were discussed, and it is rather astounding to contemplate the number of "shareholders in the government business" who evade their fair share of the expense of government, thereby causing what Adam Smith was wont to call the "inequality of taxation."

The assessor is the keystone of our fiscal system but our laws are so fixed that evasion is possible and the whole system places a premium upon dishonesty, especially in the matter of moneys and credits. One assessor suggested that this defect might be remedied by requiring all documents to pass through the assessor's office before becoming legal instruments. The assessors gathered at this convention were earnest, sincere men, devoted to solving the problems of their office. To do so, would require a change in the assessment laws—for the assessor cannot make arbitrary rules.

Perhaps the most interesting paper of the convention was read by Mr. L. A. Link of the Waterloo City Council. This was a discussion of "The Council as a Board of Review." Mr. Link stated that the Waterloo council sat as a board of review for some fifty sessions—going over assessments class by class and block by block. Too many boards of review are prone to approve the assessor's work without examination or attempt at equalization. Mr. Link suggested that the board of review be abolished if it is not a real functioning organ rather than a rubber stamp. This paper was met with hearty approval and a lively discussion, corroborating the speaker's statements followed.

Viewing the convention as a whole, it proved to

be a success, and the constructive suggestions of the meeting might be of interest:

1. Adopt the county assessor system—thus tending toward uniformity of method and securing competent supervision over the work of assessment. (Such a measure was defeated in the Iowa legislature in 1925.)
2. Adopt a uniform system of books for the office.
3. Develop uniform standards for ascertaining the value of various classes of property throughout the state.
4. Make the board of review a real, functioning body.

If the aims set up by this first meeting of assessors be realized, Iowa is due for a most thorough revision of laws relating to assessments, and it is to be hoped that the burden of taxation will be divided more equitably between those who have and those who have not.

D. W. KNEPPER.

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Municipal Activities Abroad.—Milk Supply.—One of the organizations of German cities reports the results of a questionnaire on the milk supply which was forwarded last September to cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants. Forty-four answers were received. In the list appear the most important German municipalities.

It is seen, first of all, that 35 cities control the milk trade through the method of granting concessions to dealers.

Secondly, that there are milk markets or central supply stations in 20 cities, among these are such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Mannheim and Stuttgart.

Thirdly, that the tests of milk show a very much higher percentage of unsatisfactory samples due to watering, presence of sediment or a low percentage of cream content in those cities where milk is not handled through a central clearing house. The percentages of unsatisfactory samples ran less than three in the latter group, whereas in the former, the percentages in 1925 ran from a minimum of three to a maximum of thirty.

The chief explanations of the higher grades of milk where there is centralization are that control is much more easily exercised and that the organization in charge of the central market sets high standards voluntarily and sees to it that they are maintained.—*Mittelungen des Deutschen Staedtetages* (Berlin).

Training Officials.—Since the war there has been a growing interest in Germany in the training of young people for public positions, particularly in the municipalities. A movement has just been launched in Prussia for bringing about a more or less standardized scheme of training. This has to do primarily with the education of those who have been unable to attend the university or some higher institution of learning. The Prussian League of Municipalities is the prime mover, having recently appointed a committee for the purpose of setting up general principles and standards of such training.

The important principles proposed have to do (1) with the general problem of further education, (2) with the organization and control of a school for the training in public administration, (3) with principles of testing and examination, (4) with the curriculum.

Generally, the period of preparation will cover four years. In the first three years the candidates must have the opportunity to work in a practical way in positions of more or less importance. During the last year he is expected to receive theoretical training in a special curriculum offered at a school of administration. If one has finished the equivalent of the gymnasium, the period of training is shortened. If, on the other hand, one comes from a folk school, it is lengthened by two years.

After the completion of this first examination the candidate is required to serve for at least three years and at most five before he can be enrolled in more advanced courses. The schools of administration offer these courses in such a way that one can carry on his regular work in connection with his study. This period of instruction lasts one year and is brought to a close by a second examination which, if passed, entitles one to a position as upper-secretary, or its equivalent.—*Mittelungen des Deutschen Staedtetages* (Berlin).

Public Recreation.—Glasgow has long stood in the forefront of municipalities interested in developing activities for the benefit of the public. A recent report upon recreation, particularly with reference to public concerts, golf and tennis, goes to show what progress is still being made in this enterprising city. In 1923, 409 concerts were given under the auspices of the city council at nominal entrance fees resulting in deficit of 474 pounds for the year. In 1924, there were 324 concerts with a surplus of 717 pounds; in

1925, there were 326 with a surplus of 2336 pounds. The average attendance per concert in 1925 was nearly 1000. A total of 300,000 people paid admission to attend these concerts in the past year.

On the public golf links there was an aggregate of 132,472 players in 1925. In the same year the public tennis courts served 304,000. A nominal fee is charged for use of the links and the courts. The revenue in 1925 for the courts was increased over the previous year in spite of the fact that the charge was decreased from six pence to four pence.—*Local Government News* (London).

W. E. MOSHER.



Cities not Gaining at Expense of Rural America.—The common idea that rural America is losing ground to the cities is upset in a recent issue of *The Survey*, in which Robert W. McCulloch quotes figures compiled by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to prove his contention.

According to the census, Mr. McCulloch writes, the rate of urban increase between 1900 and 1920 was 84 per cent. In reality, he says, the rate of urban increase was only 66.4 per cent, and if the immigration from abroad since 1900 is excluded the increase becomes only 52.1 per cent. The discrepancy is shown to exist because the census classifies villages as "urban" the moment they pass 2,500 in population.

At the same time Mr. McCulloch's survey shows that with the differences in classification eliminated the rural increase becomes 23.6 per cent, which is the normal increase of births over deaths and nearly twice as large as the increase based upon the ordinary census figures. "From 1900 to 1920," he writes, "the incorporated villages increased 41 per cent both in number and in population. During the same period the population of the United States as a whole increased 39 per cent. During these twenty years, therefore, incorporated villages increased in population more rapidly than the nation as a whole."

"Even if there were no movement to the cities," the article explains, "there would still be, from one census period to the next, a steady decrease in the number of people classified as 'rural,' because this is a growing nation, and many places classified as rural at the end of one decade grow sufficiently to cross into the urban class by the next time the census is taken."

"In Alabama, for example, Alabama City, a

village with 2,276 inhabitants in 1900, passed into the urban class in 1910 with a population of 4,313; and Andalusia City, with 551 in 1900 and 2,480 in 1910, got over the line with 4,023, in 1920.

"Here, then, we see how some thousands of people in two villages ceased to be villagers and became urban folk; not by migration cityward,

but by a process of governmental bookkeeping that did not move a single villager out of his own dooryard."

The institute's figures quoted by Mr. McCulloch show that 4,620,055 people became city folk between 1900 and 1920, simply because the places in which they lived had grown sufficiently to be lifted from the rural into the urban class.